

THE RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND INFLUENCE  
OF THOMAS ARNOLD OF RUGBY

by

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## FOREWORD

The aim of this dissertation is two-fold: to describe the religious thought of the sermons and miscellaneous writings of Thomas Arnold, that we may better understand the directions in which Rugby's great headmaster influenced his age; and to trace his influence on Victorian religion and morality, that that we may better appreciate its extent.

I have not attempted, except incidentally, to portray the life of Arnold, or to expound his educational methods and reforms. That has already been well done by many capable men, notably Stanley, Campbell, Whitridge, and Mack (see Bibliography, pages 197, 200).

American standard spellings have been used throughout. Arnold's works have been abbreviated in the footnotes, and a key to the abbreviations will be found on page 196. The standard biography of Arnold, Stanley's Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, is referred to in the footnotes as Life.

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A SKETCH OF ARNOLD'S LIFE  
AND THE TIMES IN WHICH HE LIVED

Rugby School has been thrice immortalized in English literature--by a biography, by a poem, and by a schoolboy novel. In all three works, there is one central figure, Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby from 1828-42. Arnold of Rugby is the subject of Stanley's Life of Arnold, the person elegized in Matthew Arnold's Rugby Chapel, and the real hero of Hughes' Tom Brown's School Days.

Rarely has a man been so closely identified with a school. Rugby was almost merged into Arnold's personality:

"From one end of it to the other, whatever defects it had were his defects, whatever excellences it had were his excellences. It was not the master who was beloved or disliked for the sake of the school, but the school was beloved or disliked for the sake of the master. Whatever peculiarity of character was impressed on the scholars whom it sent forth was derived not from the genius of the place, but from the genius of the man. Throughout, whether in the school itself, or in its after-effects, the one image that we have before us is not Rugby, but Arnold."<sup>1</sup>

Even Rugby football, that non-literary claim to fame for the name of Rugby School, is linked with Thomas Arnold. Under his administration, the extra-curricular activities of the boys gained a new importance in school life. Organized sports and the "worship of good form" received an impetus from his system that was far greater than would have pleased him.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Life, i.106

2. Rugby football originated in 1823; the predominance of organized sport in school life was not complete until the last half of the century.



Indeed, many developments which would have greatly surprised Arnold were stimulated by his ideas and example.

In him, "there was such a union of qualities, and from him there radiated in so many different directions such potent influences, that he may well be regarded as one of the most forceful and impelling men of his times."<sup>3</sup>

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Thomas Arnold was born on June 13th, 1795, at West Cowes on the Isle of Wight. His father was a collector of customs, and the head of a large and affectionate household. Thomas was the seventh child in the family, and the third son; his mother's sister, Miss Delafield, also lived with them, and undertook his early education after his father's death by heart failure in 1801.<sup>4</sup> In 1803, he was sent to Warminster for schooling, and from 1807-11 he attended Winchester. He seems to have been a fairly normal schoolboy, making many friends and getting into occasional mischief. He showed an early aptitude for history and geography, and read widely for a young boy. He was greatly interested in the sea and in naval affairs, as one would expect from a boy growing up on the Channel coast during the Napoleonic wars. At the tender age of not quite sixteen, he put his Isle of Wight boyhood behind, and went up to Oxford as a scholar of Corpus Christi College.

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3. White, M. Arnold and the Spirit of the Age, p.31

4. His two older brothers died before him--William, an Army Chaplain, in 1806, and Matthew in 1820; his invalid sister, Susannah, died in 1832; the other sisters survived him.

There were two sides to Arnold's personality--the one serious and the other carefree. They were held together in tension throughout his life, just as the Law and the Gospel were held together in tension in his religious thought.<sup>5</sup> As a boy, he had thoroughly enjoyed both Thucydides and mock naval battles. At Oxford, he worked hard at classical history and philosophy,<sup>6</sup> and played hard at rowing, bathing, partying, and debating. He was not much interested in poetry, painting, or music, yet he loved nature. He responded to the Toryism of the Corpus Christi common room, without completely losing his youthful radicalism. His indignation was easily aroused by a seeming injustice, but normally his disposition was affectionate and his loyalty to his friends was great. He was placed first class in Litterae Humaniores in 1814, and elected fellow of Oriel College the following year.

The Oriel fellowship was a signal honor and opportunity, for election to it, unlike many of the college fellowships of the time, was based upon intellectual promise. Oriel then boasted of the most vigorous minds in the University, among whom Whately was pre-eminent and became Arnold's fast friend. The Oriel common room was the place where every proposition was called into question and submitted to merciless logical examination.<sup>7</sup> Arnold never forgot the lesson he learned there to love the truth and seek it fearlessly.

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5. see below, pp. 55f, 183

6. Aristotle was one of his favorites.

7. For more about the Oriel "Noetics", see below, p. 118

Arnold remained in Oxford until 1819, taking private pupils and reading in the libraries. But he was not entirely immersed in the past. He was very much alive to the current of world affairs, so much so that his friends jokingly called him "political Tommy." It was a stirring time for any young student, particularly a student of history and philosophy. The ideal of liberty espoused by the French Revolution had captured his imagination, but the excessive bloodshed and the rise of Napoleon which followed disillusioned him. He traveled with college friends to Paris in August, 1815, immediately after peace had at long last returned to Europe. In a letter to his mother from Paris, he spoke with distaste of the "cant of the Revolution" marked by the words, "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité."<sup>8</sup>

"Peace without plenty" in England followed the victory of Waterloo; country squires were content to let poor law subsidies keep their "peasant" workers alive, manufacturers took advantage of the over-supply of labor in the growing cities, and everybody was unhappy about the post-war financial disorder. Unrest seethed among the masses. The government, which had no effective metropolitan police system before Peel organized the London "Bobbies" in 1829, felt compelled to use repressive measures.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the turbulent national

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8. Whitridge, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, p.30

9. e.g., temporary suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; also the Peterloo incident of 1819, when troops charged a crowd at Manchester, killing and wounding a good many, more out of fear than because of any actual disorder.

scene, Arnold's life during the period seems idyllic. He was ordained, and settled--with his mother, sister Susannah, and aunt--at Laleham on the Thames, in 1819. His brother-in-law, William Buckland, had set up a small school there; Arnold was to help in the school and to take private pupils preparing for the University. The following year saw the beginning of nearly a quarter-century of domestic happiness: he married Mary Penrose, daughter of a Nottinghamshire clergyman and sister of a college friend.

Arnold's eight years at Laleham were among the happiest of his life. Six of his nine children were born there. He thoroughly enjoyed his work, as did his wife, for the pupils were made part of the Arnold household. He later wrote to a friend considering the same sort of private tutoring:

"I enjoyed, and do enjoy, the society of youths of seventeen or eighteen, for they are all alive in limbs and spirits at least, if not in mind.... I should say, have your pupils a good deal with you, and be as familiar with them as you possibly can. I did this continually more and more before I left Laleham, going to bathe with them, leaping and all other gymnastics within my capacity, and sometimes sailing or rowing with them. They, I believe, always liked it, and I enjoyed it myself like a boy, and found myself constantly the better for it."<sup>10</sup>

Besides his tutoring, Arnold found time for many personal intellectual pursuits. He contributed articles on the Roman Commonwealth to the Encyclopedia Metropolitana; he began a lexicon of Thucydides, which later grew into a three-volume

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10. Life, i.47



translation; he learned German in order to study Niebuhr's History of Rome.<sup>11</sup> It was an incubation period, during which he projected three major works for later life: a History of Rome, a treatise on Christian Politics, and a Commentary on the Scriptures. Unfortunately, only the History of Rome was completed, and that by an editor after his death.

Laleham was a period when Arnold's religious views<sup>12</sup> came

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11. see below, p. 94

12. In 1840, Arnold wrote to J.T. Coleridge about the formation of his religious opinions, as follows: (Life, ii.176f)

"I believe that no man's mind has ever been more consciously influenced by other than mine has been in the course of my life, from the time that I first met you at Corpus. I doubt whether you ever submitted to another with the same complete deference as I did to you when I was an undergraduate. So afterwards, I looked up to Davison with exceeding reverence,--and to Whately. Nor do I think that Keble himself has lived on in more habitual respect and admiration than I have, only the objects of these feelings have been very different. At this day, I could sit at Bunsen's feet, and drink in wisdom, with almost intense reverence. But I cannot reverence the men whom Keble reverences, and how does he feel to Luther and Milton? It gives me no pain and no scruple whatever to differ from those whom, after the most deliberate judgment that I can form, I cannot find to be worthy of admiration... But with wise men in the way of their wisdom, it would give me very great pain to differ; I can say that truly with regard to your uncle, even more with regard to Niebuhr...

I was brought up in a strong Tory family; the first impressions of my own mind shook my merely received impressions to pieces, and at Winchester I was well-nigh a Jacobin. At sixteen, when I went up to Oxford, all the influences of the place which I loved exceedingly, your influence above all, blew my Jacobinism to pieces, and made me again a Tory... Then came the peace, when Napoleon was put down, and the Tories had it their own way. Nothing shook my Toryism more than the strong Tory sentiments that I used to hear at \_\_\_\_\_ (Laleham), though I liked the family exceedingly... The more I read of the Bible, (they) seemed to me more and more unchristian. I could not but go on inquiring, and I do feel thankful that now and for some years past I have been living not in skepticism, but in a very sincere faith, which embraces most unreservedly those great truths, divine and human, which the highest authorities, divine and human, seem to me concurringly to teach...."

to maturity, too. He was not in charge of any parish, but he made it a point to assist the curate at Laleham regularly, in preaching, in the Sunday School, and in parish visitation. He was afflicted with some religious doubts: first, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, which Keble advised him to overcome "not by physic, i.e., reading and controversy, but by diet and regimen, i.e., holy living;"<sup>13</sup> and later, concerning subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles,<sup>14</sup> on which point Hawkins was able to reassure him. But his faith in the Lordship of Christ was never shaken. Devotion to the person of Christ, and a real sense of communion with God through Christ were marks of his Christian faith manifested in the way he went about his affairs as well as in his preaching.<sup>15</sup> The sermons he delivered in Laleham parish church (published in 1829) show the same characteristic ideas and style as those preached in Rugby Chapel.

Arnold traveled extensively during his vacations from work at Laleham, sometimes in England and Scotland, but more often on the Continent. He continued this practice until after the French Revolution of 1830, which occurred while he was in Venice. On his tour to Rome in 1827, he made the acquaintance of Bunsen,<sup>16</sup> and in 1830 visited Niebuhr at Bonn. Meanwhile,

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13. Life, i.35

14. His interpretations of Scripture were at variance with what seemed to him at first to be the terms of subscription.

15. cf. below, p. 38

16. see below, pp. 94, 129, 174



Arnold's friends urged him to stand for a mastership in one of the great Public Schools, and when the position at Rugby fell vacant in 1827, he agreed. Although he was a late applicant, the testimonials of his friends carried sufficient weight to see him elected. So, in 1828, he pulled up the roots of his Laleham household, and re-planted them at Rugby.<sup>17</sup>

Arnold's first five years at Rugby were years of reform. This is hardly surprising, for Public Schools in England were recognizedly in need of reform, and indeed, Arnold's election had been aided by Hawkins' prediction that he would "change the face of education all through the Public Schools of England."<sup>18</sup> Besides, reform was in the air; discussion of political reforms was the order of the day. Different programs of economic reform were advocated--free trade, retrenchment of industrialization, currency reform, factory legislation, socialism--but all reformers were united in their demand for reform of Parliament. This demand was heightened by the success of the French "bourgeois revolution" of 1830; it was pointedly expressed in the general elections of 1830 and 1831, as well as in such demonstrations as that of the mob which burned the central part of Bristol. Eventually the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, over the opposition of peers and clergy, doing away with "rotten boroughs" and extending the franchise to "ten pound householders." Abolition of negro slavery, and

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17. There was a literal replanting of willow-tree shoots from the old Arnold home on the Isle of Wight at each succeeding home--Laleham, Rugby, and Fox How. Arnold's mother, aunt, and invalid sister stayed on in Laleham until their deaths.

18. Life, i.62

the first effective Factory Act followed.

Arnold was in favor of all these reform measures.<sup>19</sup> What is more, he saw that reform could not stop with Parliament, but must go on to change the Church of England, and he welcomed the necessary changes. Not so, his brother clergymen. Their wrath descended upon his head, until he moaned that there was "no man like-minded" with him in England. His pamphlet on "Church Reform" in 1833 only served to cap the climax of suspicion and distrust aroused by his previous pamphlet on "The Christian Duty of Conceding the Roman Catholic Claims" (1829)<sup>20</sup>; by his attempt in 1831 to found the "Englishman's Register" as a liberal Christian paper to educate the working class; and by the appendices to his second volume of sermons (1832) dealing with the social state of England and the interpretation of Scripture. The liberals, on the left, disliked his insistence upon Christian principles; and the evangelical Tories, on the right, thought him a traitor to the settled order of Church and State. But for their Toryism, he might have been an Evangelical; to him, an Evangelical was a good Christian with "low understanding, and... ignorance of the world."<sup>21</sup>

While Arnold was really a very mild liberal, rumor had it that he taught politics to the boys and set revolutionary themes--and even that he had displayed the tri-color.<sup>22</sup> As

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19. see below, ~~Chapter II (a) and (b)~~ pp 46 ff

20. see below, p. 86. Catholic Emancipation was forced through Parliament in 1829 against the opposition of squires and parsons under the threat of civil war in Ireland.

21. Life, i.250 (note); see also pp 33-45

22. He had brought a tri-color work-bag and cockade home from France.

he himself said in a letter to J.T. Coleridge:

"It is really too great a folly to be talked of as a revolutionist, with a family of seven young children and a house and income that I should be rather puzzled to match in America, if I were obliged to change my quarters. My quarrel with the anti-liberal party is that they are going the way to force my children to America, and to deprive me and everyone else of property, station, and all the inestimable benefits of society in England."<sup>23</sup>

Arnold was no radical; he was simply alive to injustice and to the signs of the times, and so stimulated, he felt compelled to deliver his testimony.

While Arnold was gaining notoriety as a reformer, he was spending most of his time at the major task he had been called to perform, the task of breathing new life and a new spirit into the dry bones of schooling at Rugby. His spare time was spent at Thucydides, the first volume of which came from the press in 1830 and the second in 1833. Much of the latter work was done during summer vacations, which he now began to spend in the Lake district. The whole family became so fond of vacationing there that they decided to build a home of their own at Fox How, a small estate between Rydal and Ambleside.

Fox How became increasingly important to Arnold during the second five years of his Rugby headmastership. From 1833-38 was the period of his greatest unpopularity with English churchmen,<sup>24</sup> and he would retreat eagerly to Fox How each vacation.

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23. Life, 1.253. He added, "There is nothing so revolutionary .. as the strain to keep things fixed, when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.."

24. The Archbishop of Canterbury thought it wise that Arnold should not preach the consecration sermon for Edward Stanley's elevation to the see of Norwich in 1837, on grounds of clerical disapproval.



"It is with mixed feelings of solemnity and tenderness," he said, "that I regard our mountain nest, whose surpassing sweetness... adds a positive happiness to every one of my waking hours passed in it."<sup>25</sup> The work at Rugby and the controversy in which he engaged bound him with the "law" of serious devotion to moral principles; his domestic affections provided escape into a "gospel" of glorious and carefree liberty, of which Fox How was the symbol.

Agitation for political reform died down, at least temporarily, with the passage of the Reform Bill and the Whigs' coming into power. Arnold's controversy was now pretty much confined to Church affairs, and his chief antagonists were the new Oxford Tractarians.<sup>26</sup> Parliament, too, became more interested in Church affairs. The Bill to suppress certain Irish sees (Anglican) in 1833 provoked Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy" and began the Oxford Movement. Arnold, of course, favored the Whigs' Church reform measures. He circulated a petition in favor of the University Tests Bill of 1834, which would have opened degrees to dissenters.<sup>27</sup> The bill, however, was thrown out by the House of Lords. Other bills were passed, relieving some of the abuses to which Arnold and others had

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25. Life, i.216

26. see below, Chapter IV, section I. Arnold perceived the implications of the Tracts and the Movement long before Hawkins did. (Life, i.331--letter of April 10th, 1834)

27. Thirlwall's advocacy of the bill cost him his fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge (see below, p.170) Curiously enough, Maurice was against it, and wrote a pamphlet "Subscription No Bondage." He had recently been converted to Anglicanism.

called attention in 1833--e.g., commutation of tithes, partial abolition of plurality and non-residence, redistribution of Church revenues. In fairness to the Tractarians, and to a large number of churchmen who also opposed these government bills, it must be said that their opposition was not so much to the reforms themselves as to the power of civil authorities to initiate them.

In 1836, the government chartered the University of London to grant degrees to students of King's College and University College, London, who were not required to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles as were Cambridge and Oxford students. Arnold was glad to accept a position as fellow and examiner in the University. However, he resigned in 1838 after his attempts to establish non-sectarian examinations in the Bible had succeeded only in providing an optional examination, not necessary in taking a degree. He felt strongly that the University should maintain a specifically Christian character, but the rest of the senate felt it necessary to grant degrees to non-Christians as well; and they doubted the possibility of a non-sectarian Bible examination, acceptable to both Anglicans and dissenters.

While Arnold's political and ecclesiastical views were not popular, his school was making a reputation for itself and for him in the field of education. Rugby pupils distinguished themselves by winning more than their share of prizes at the

Universities. Arnold always took a keen interest in his former pupils, whether or not they won special honors. He carried on an extensive correspondence with many of them, and they often visited him at both Rugby and Fox How.

During this five year period from 1833-38, Arnold's pen was also active at projects more ambitious than writing letters and correcting student papers. The writing which attracted most attention was an article in the Edinburgh Review, which the editor entitled "The Oxford Malignants and Dr. Hampden." It was provoked by the proposal, initiated by Newman and his friends, for Oxford Convocation to censure the theological views of the newly appointed Professor of Divinity. In the article, Arnold used his most vehement language, venting his dislike for Tractarian doctrines, showing his feeling of loyalty to a friend, and expressing an unconscious identification of this "unfair" attack with similar ones made upon himself. The Rugby Trustees very nearly voted to censure him because of the article. During this same period, his third volume of sermons was published; also the final volume of Thucydides and the first volume of the History of Rome both made their appearance. Besides all this, Arnold studied Hebrew and worked out his theory of the interpretation of prophecy, which bore fruit in the publication of Two Sermons on Prophecy, with notes, in 1839.

When Victoria came to the throne in 1837, Arnold was still at odds with the majority of English churchmen. But



during the last four years of his life, from 1838-42, he came into his own as an "Eminent Victorian,"<sup>28</sup>--respected even though his opinions differed from those of the majority of clergy. This change of attitude toward him was due to the growing opposition to the Oxford Movement, of which he was the chief opponent, to the growing success of Rugby School, and to his own comparative silence on political issues since passage of the Reform Bill.

Comparative silence had not meant lack of interest on Arnold's part.<sup>29</sup> He was consistently an independent liberal

28. He was one of four selected by Lytton Strachey to portray in Eminent Victorians.

The Queen possessed a copy of Arnold's Sermons with passages marked in her own hand. She asked Stanley to accompany the Prince of Wales on a tour through the Holy Land; he later married her chief Lady-in-waiting. She also took an active interest in the appointment of bishops, and over-ruled Disraeli to secure Tait as Archbishop of Canterbury. cf. below, p.125.

29. In 1836 he wrote the following to J.C. Platt (editor of the Sheffield Courant to which he had contributed letters):  
 "...The state of the country interests me as much as ever, but since my correspondence with the Sheffield Courant, I have written nothing on the subject. I do not like the aspect of things at all. An extraordinary period of commercial enterprise threw into the shade for the time all those evils in the state of the laboring population, which I have ever dreaded as the rock fatal to our greatness; but meanwhile, those evils were not removed, nor in fact attempted to be lessened, except by the Poor Law Act,--a measure in itself wise and just, but which, standing alone, and unaccompanied by others of a milder and more positively improving tendency, wears an air of harshness, and will, I fear, embitter the feelings of the poorer classes still more. Now we are threatened by a most unprincipled system of agitation,--the Tories actually doing their best to Jacobinize the poor in hope of turning an outbreak against the Whig government to their own advantage. Then there is the currency question, full of immense difficulties...

It is really a great contest between the adherents of two

throughout his public life. He was never a party man, nor could he have been, for he managed to estrange the anti-clerical left as well as the anti-liberal party of Church Establishment by the simple expedient of identifying himself partially with both. He wanted to chasten the aristocracy, and at the same time to improve the lower classes morally. Politically, he supported the Whigs, who held office from 1830-41, with the exception of a few months in 1834-35.<sup>30</sup> But by 1839, it became clear that the Whig policies were not adequate to meet the critical economic and political situation. On the one hand, a new Conservative party<sup>31</sup> was demanding a balanced budget, stimulation of trade, and defense of the Church against reform. On the other hand, the working classes who were again in distress felt that the Whigs had betrayed the confidence given

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great principles, that of preserving, and that of improving; and he must have studied history to very little purpose who does not know that in common circumstances the former party is always the most numerous and the strongest. It occasionally gets overpowered, when it has had rope enough given it to hang itself; that is, when it has carried its favorite Conservatism to such a height that the mass of unreformed evil becomes unendurable, and then there comes a grand reform. But that grand reform once effected, the Conservative instinct again regains its ascendancy, and goes on upon another lease.... This is the secret of the Tory reaction; because men are all Tories by nature, when they are tolerably well off, and it is only some monstrous injustice or insult to themselves, or some atrocious cruelty, or some great reverses of fortune, that ever make them otherwise..." (Life, ii.65)

30. According to Arnold, the only good thing the new Conservative party did in that period was to elevate his friend, J.T. Coleridge, to the bench. (Life, i.364)

31. Composed of both old-fashioned Tories, and "Peelite" trading and manufacturing interests.

them in 1832. Spear-headed by the Chartists,<sup>32</sup> they demanded enfranchisement and the right to speak for themselves politically.

With such a major crisis brewing, Arnold could no longer remain silent. He began writing another series of letters for a newspaper. This time they were contributed to the Hertford Reformer in 1839, 1840, and 1841, on the subject of Chartism, and Church and State. He did not take the People's Charter<sup>33</sup> seriously as a proposal for reform, but regarded Chartism, particularly in its more violent outbursts, as an ugly symptom of a malignant social disease. His only prescription to cure the disease was better understanding and mutual help among all classes of society, through the medium of his ideal "Christian State," but he was not too hopeful for its success. He was interested in setting up a society for collecting facts and calling public attention to the condition of the poor worker; he corresponded with several men like Carlyle on the subject,<sup>34</sup> but nothing came of it.

During the last four years of his life, Arnold's argumentative writings were less in the nature of destructive criticism, and more constructive. He took to heart the protests of his friends against such an offensive <sup>attack</sup> as "The Oxford Malignants" and published, instead, such positive suggestions as the "Revival

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32. It was the final failure of the Chartist petition in 1848 that led to Christian Socialism; see below, p. 148

33. Most of the points of the People's Charter (manhood suffrage and kindred electoral reforms) became law long ago.

34. Life, ii.150



of the Order of Deacons" (1841). He kept at work on the History of Rome, the second volume of which was published in 1840 and the third posthumously. He also undertook considerable revision of his notes on Thucydides for a second edition. In what time he could spare, he worked hard at his "Christian Politics," thinking it the best possible answer to the Oxford Movement. However, in the excitement following publication of Tract Ninety<sup>35</sup> in 1841, he decided to include a preface on the "Oxford School of Theology" and notes on "Tradition, Rationalism, and Inspiration", with his fourth volume of sermons.

After the uproar caused by Tract Ninety, Newman felt that the proposal to set up a joint Prussian-Anglican bishopric of Jerusalem was the "last straw." Arnold reacted in the opposite way. He welcomed the Jerusalem bishopric as a vindication of his principles of Church reform through comprehensiveness, particularly since his friend, Bunsen, had been instrumental in making the arrangements. Arnold began to see signs of some improvement in the general situation, politically and religiously. The School, too, was crowded to overflowing. He started traveling on the Continent again, taking his wife or older boys with him. His general optimism was encouraged by a parliamentary bill for sanitation and signs of concern for their workers' welfare on the part of some manufacturers.<sup>36</sup>

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35. In which Newman held that the 39 Articles of the Church of England were "patient of a Catholic interpretation."

36. Life, ii.225f

The act of Melbourne's dying Whig ministry which did most to brighten Arnold's horizons was his appointment to be Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1841. Arnold had long been considered a likely bishop or professor;<sup>37</sup> he had been offered a stall in Bristol Cathedral as far back as 1831, but had declined because of his objection to non-residence.<sup>38</sup> This professorship was especially welcome because Modern History was particularly to Arnold's liking, and because the chair renewed his ties with his beloved University and gave him a chance to combat Tractarianism on its own homelground. His inaugural lecture in December, 1841, was a great personal triumph,<sup>39</sup> and his first course of lectures in February, 1842, were very well received.<sup>40</sup> They were published later the same year.

Death came to Arnold suddenly, as it had to his father. He did not live to give further Oxford lectures. On Sunday morning, June 12th, 1842, just at the end of the Rugby half-year, Arnold awoke with a sharp pain in his chest. Since he was unusually robust and healthy, and in the prime of life,<sup>41</sup>

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37. The Greville Memoirs, iii.322, vi.120

38. Life, i.266

39. see appendix VII

40. While at Oxford to deliver the lectures, he met Newman. (see below, p. 111). He was also invited by Bunsen to a reception in London for the King of Prussia where he met Carlyle and Maurice. Carlyle paid him a visit at Rugby a few weeks before his death; he termed the school a "temple of industrious peace" and Arnold's activity, "unresting, unhasting diligence."

41. Arnold habitually used such expressions as "if God shall permit," and "if life be spared me," but during his last year they occurred more frequently (witness History and CL2) as if he had some premonition that the end was near. There

this symptom of illness was alarming, and the doctor was immediately summoned. He could do little but relieve the pain, and within the hour, Arnold was dead of heart attack.

His death, just as he was reaching the summit of fame and influence, sent a shock throughout the country, and wherever his pupils had gone or his reputation was known. Even those who differed with him most paid their tributes to his memory and influence. Scholarships were founded at Rugby and Oxford and a monument erected in Rugby Chapel in his honor. Had he lived, he might have changed the temper of Oxford; even in death he made a great impact upon the life and thought of Victorian England. Had he lived, his influence might have been more directive and determinative, but it could scarcely have been more wide-spread than it became when sudden death brought a climactic end to his vigorous, colorful life.

Just a week before his death, Arnold made the following entry in a private diary. It is typical of the spirit of his life and of his attitude toward the times in which he lived:

"I have been just looking over a newspaper, one of the most painful and solemn studies in the world, if it be read thoughtfully. So much of sin and so much of suffering in the world, as there are displayed, and no one seems able to remedy either. And then the thought of my own private life, so full of comforts, is very startling, when I contrast it with the lot of millions... May I be kept humble and zealous, and may God give me grace to labor in my generation for the good of my brethren, and for his glory!..."<sup>42</sup>

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had been an unusual amount of sickness and death in the School at the beginning of the year. At the end of May, he himself had been confined to bed with fever for a few days.



PART ONE

ARNOLD'S RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

The quotations immediately following the chapter headings are selected from the works of Thomas or Matthew Arnold, or their contemporaries.

## I. ARNOLD'S RUGBY CHAPEL SERMONS

"Still thou performest the word  
 Of the Spirit in whom thou dost live--  
 Prompt, unwearied, as here!  
 Still thou upraimest with zeal  
 The humble good from the ground,  
 Sternly represses the bad!  
 Still, like a trumpet, dost rouse  
 Those who with half-open eyes  
 Tread the border-land dim  
 'Twixt vice and virtue; reviv'st,  
 Succorest!--this was thy work,  
 This was thy life upon earth."

--Matthew Arnold.

When the chaplaincy of Rugby School fell vacant, Arnold asked that he himself be appointed. He felt that the headmaster ought to be the pastor and religious instructor of the boys. He wanted to integrate Christianity into their education. His aim in preaching to the boys was not so much to instruct them in Christian doctrine as to win them to a Christian attitude. As a result, his sermons were more in the nature of exhortations to Christian living than dissertations upon doctrine. Because he wanted above all to integrate Christianity with everyday life, Arnold tended to undervalue dogmatic theology. He felt that the man who read too much in Theology was apt to become narrow in his outlook and overfond of meaningless argument.<sup>1</sup> According to his plan, the Rugby boys were to receive a broad general education, which would be at the same time thoroughly Christian.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Life 11.155

2. see below, p. 86

The Trustees granted his request, and for ten years Arnold preached in Rugby Chapel nearly every Sunday afternoon of the school year. He came to be one of the most influential preachers of the Church of England in his time. The boys watched and listened in silence as their black-gowned headmaster delivered his Christian convictions to them from Rugby Chapel pulpit. They revered him, and spread his fame. Following Arnold's practice, school sermons by headmasters became quite customary in England.

Many of Arnold's sermons were published. They sold widely both before and after his death. One edition was reprinted as late as thirty-six years after his death.<sup>3</sup> Queen Victoria, like many of her subjects, owned a copy of Arnold's sermons, and had marked many passages with her own hand. Theological opponents--and he had many for he engaged vigorously in disputation--might deride the "oracle of Rugby", but they could not deny that he had a large following. It worked both ways: not only did his preaching heighten public interest in Arnold, but also the limelight of public controversy in which Arnold took part contributed to the popularity of his sermons.

Now that the publicity of controversy and the popular appeal of his preaching have long since died away, there is still something about Arnold's approach to religion to concern us. It is the way Arnold took Christianity seriously and

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3. Not all of Arnold's published sermons were preached in Rugby Chapel. Volume I, for instance, is a selection of those preached at Laleham.

tried to integrate it with the whole of life. Arnold's sermons in Rugby Chapel were never directly concerned with the issues of the day in church and nation, but they were always concerned with a religious philosophy which determined the positions the Rugby headmaster took upon the issues of the day. Because they reveal his religious thought, we, too, now look to Arnold's sermons, first to his style, and then to the content of his message.

(a) Arnold's Sermon Style

Arnold wrote his sermons at white heat. Often the ink was hardly dry when he entered the pulpit, and he revised them only slightly for publication. To the twentieth century reader, his style seems cumbersome, as does that of most Victorian writers. We wonder that he was able to keep the attention of schoolboys. Still, he spoke and wrote more forcefully than was usual in his day. Arnold's statements were direct and plain, and their very frankness impressed both his hearers and his readers. His biographer called the Rugby Chapel sermons the "first of their kind", and "models... in English preaching."<sup>4</sup>

Arnold himself wanted his sermons to be straight-forward and down to earth. The fact that two of the six volumes were entitled Christian Life indicates their intended practical nature.<sup>5</sup> In his preface to the first volume of sermons,

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4. Life, 1.152

5. In the 1878 edition, his daughter, Mrs. W.E. Forster, re-titled all six volumes, Christian Life.

Arnold wrote:

"In point of style they are wholly devoid of pretension; for my main object was to write intelligibly... In their matter they have not attempted to enter upon points of criticism, or to engage in any of the more difficult questions of theology. They are directly practical; but it has been my endeavor in all of them to enforce what may be called peculiarly Christian practice."<sup>6</sup>

A comparison of Arnold's sermons with those of his great contemporary, Newman,<sup>7</sup> bears out the points made above. Here is a brief paragraph from a sermon of Newman on "Faith and Reason"<sup>8</sup>, followed by a paragraph of Arnold's from a sermon upon the same text.

Newman: "Next, I observe, that, whatever be the real distinction and relation existing between Faith and Reason, which it is not to our purpose at once to determine, the contrast that would be made between them, on a popular view, is this,--that Reason requires strong evidence before it assents, and Faith is content with weaker evidence."<sup>9</sup>

Arnold: "But now comes the question, What is faith? And as answer to it I have chosen the words of the text: 'It is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' That is to say, it is that feeling or faculty within us, by which the future becomes to our minds greater than the present; and what we do not see, more powerful to influence us than what we do see. But perhaps some few common instances will explain what I mean more fully."<sup>10</sup>

Newman's style was graceful and flowing. It showed an acuteness of reasoning bordering on subtlety. Arnold, on the contrary, was never concerned with subtleties of reasoning or with logical niceties. When he saw a point clearly, he set out to make it plain to others.

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6. v.I, p.5

7. see below, p.109ff for more about Newman and Arnold

8. text: Hebrews 11:1

9. Newman, University Sermons, p.185 (Longmans, 1909)

10. v.II, p.2f



(b) Main Assertions

Arnold had an apt word for his own style; he called it "practical." The same word goes a long way to describe the content of his message as well, for the most characteristic assertion of the Rugby Chapel sermons is that religion is an eminently practical affair.

## (1) Religion is Practical --

During the first half of the twentieth century, it has been fashionable for Christian thinkers and preachers to assert the need to "apply religion to the common life." Arnold anticipated this fashion, and perhaps helped to start it. We should search the Scriptures, he said, for "medicines fitted to our own particular want"<sup>11</sup> for they always contain "a lesson best fitted to our actual condition."<sup>12</sup>

Arnold's own life is the best commentary on what he meant by practical religion. He was a man of great moral earnestness. He practiced what he preached by making morality, i.e., behaving like a Christian gentleman, the chief end of life--for himself and for the boys at Rugby School. However, he did not fall into the easy trap of making Christian morality a matter of observing rules. Practical religion goes much deeper. It is a matter of basic attitude toward the common affairs of life. The word "practical" is not limited to mean "given in the form of a commandment or rule." "Everything is practical which is calculated to affect the practice."<sup>13</sup>

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11. v.III, p.356

12. IS, p.8

13. ibid., p.287



There are at least five motivating factors which inspire morality. Police power enforces morality among the anti-social; convenience keeps the bulk of mankind in the moral way.<sup>14</sup> God's holiness motivated Newman's morality; ritual cleanliness motivated the Pharisees.<sup>15</sup> Arnold's morality was based on yet another motivating factor, which he termed a "Christian affection." No other phrase expresses so succinctly his concept of practical religion in a man's life: a positive disposition to Christ-like action. By practical religion Arnold did not mean a tool for changing society to conform to some ideal human pattern. He did mean an attitude toward everyday living like Christ's.

Preaching is practical. The very nature of the Word of God, said Arnold, makes it so. "Since the world began, God has spoken to man for one purpose only, to make him better."<sup>16</sup> It is important to use common language in religious discussions. "I have a strong objection to the use of what is called peculiarly religious language, because I am sure that it hinders us from bringing the matter of that language thoroughly home to us; our minds do not entirely assimilate it."<sup>17</sup>

Abstract theology, to Arnold, was a hindrance and not a help to Christianity. "Works of theology" are inferior to "works of practical devotion."<sup>18</sup>

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14. cf. Utilitarian morality. Arnold found himself allied with followers of Mill and Bentham in reform; however, he opposed their "godlessness", e.g., when he resigned from London University--see above, pp. 12, 15.

15. and the "Juda-izing" tractarians, too, to Arnold's mind.

16. IS, p.287

17. CL1, p.375

18. cf. ibid., p.36

To Arnold, Bible study was also essentially practical. "If we do not take the Bible as applying to ourselves there is no use in our studying it."<sup>19</sup> With regard to all Scripture read in Church, we should ask ourselves this question: "What is the benefit that we can or should gain?"<sup>20</sup>

Belief in God is similarly a practical matter. Arnold admitted that we can never have perfect assurance of the Christian hope in God, but no more can an atheist have perfect assurance of his belief. Belief in God is assured by the moral argument that, if there were no God, goodness and truth would be forever separated. Rather are they inseparably joined in the world in which we live. In addition, the traditional arguments for the existence of God lend added assurance, and practical testing gives final verification of the Christian hope. "By acting as if there were a God, the result is ~~virtue~~ and happiness, and by acting as if there were none, the result is vice and misery."<sup>21</sup>

In the same way, said Arnold, all Christian doctrines are practical. The Biblical doctrine of the Fall is instructive because of its "large and most profitable view... of the condition of mankind."<sup>22</sup> So is the doctrine of the Atonement practical. If that seems a bit far-fetched, ask yourself this question: "At what moment of my life would not the thought of Christ's death be useful to me?" In sickness or sorrow, walking in the faith or fear of God, struggling with sin,

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19. CL2, p.262

20. IS, p.76

21. v.III, pp.206-209

22. IS, p.11

careless of it or over-careful--"at every age in every condition, the thought of Christ's death is... useful to us."<sup>23</sup> The whole teaching of the Church and the whole study of religion should point toward an answer to this question: "Of what practical use is Christianity in my everyday living?"

(2) Christ is the Center of Practical Religion --

The second main assertion of Arnold's sermons saved them from lapsing into mere moralism. The man himself was deeply and thoroughly Christian, and his devotion to Christ was reflected throughout the sermons. He asserted that Christ is the central figure, not only for worship and doctrine, but also for the whole of life. What is more, he acted as if he believed it.

His sermon on "The Love of Christ Constraineth Me"<sup>24</sup> conveyed a sense of the immediacy and reality of Christ. He knew that it is difficult for schoolboys, and for many older people as well, to feel Christ near. But reluctance and half-heartedness are all the more reason to cast oneself upon the love of Christ. The gospel story of our Lord's sufferings is particularly helpful. It has led men in all ages to govern their lives by the principle of love and gratitude to Christ.

Because of his Christocentric way of thinking, Arnold constantly related all the doctrines of the Christian faith to Christ. He emphasized that knowledge of God comes to us primarily through Christ, and that we know the Holy Spirit as

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<sup>23.</sup> v.III, pp.67ff

<sup>24</sup> .ibid., sermon I

the Spirit of Christ. The doctrine of sin gains meaning from Christ, who revealed the height of man's duty to God, and, by contrast, the depth of man's failure. How great must be the love of God, as well as the sin of man, if it was necessary for Christ to die for our sins!

Had Arnold lived longer, he would have written a book on "Christian Politics"--i.e., the life of the Christian in Society.<sup>25</sup> The Rugby sermons, as well as the few rough outlines of the book that Arnold drew up, clearly indicate that his book would place Christ at the center of practical religion. Arnold would make the Spirit of Christ both Guide and Critic of the integrated political-social-religious life.

### (3) Practical Religion is Reasonable --

The third main assertion of the Rugby Chapel sermons expresses Arnold's modified rationalism. He did not hesitate to call upon reason to expound and to defend the Christian religion. But it was practical and not speculative reason that had such a large place. Unlike many British theologians of the preceeding century, Arnold was not so much interested in setting forth the evidences of Christianity as in showing men and boys the implications of the gospel they took for granted.<sup>26</sup> His appeal

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25. see below, p.65

26. v.III, p.201, in a sermon upon I Peter 3:15, he said:  
 "I have scarcely ever touched in this place upon what are commonly called the evidences of Christianity. I have not attempted to give the proofs of what is called natural religion, or of the divine origin of the Christian religion in particular. I have generally taken these things for granted, and have endeavored rather to enforce the conclusions which follow from them, if they are taken as premises, than to establish them as conclusions themselves from premises."



was to common sense rather than to philosophy.

Arnold realized that it took more than reason to support the Christian faith. "To a good man, the evidence of the gospel is abundantly satisfactory; to a bad man, it seems to have no force at all."<sup>27</sup> The Christian affection which he strove to inculcate was a combination of reason and emotion. It could not be mere emotion, for "we know well enough... that little reliance is to be placed upon feeling, be it as sincere as it will."<sup>28</sup> To Arnold, then the Christian affection was the response of the whole man to Christ--mind, will, body, and soul.

Arnold also recognized the reality of doubt, and the difficulty of believing such fundamental Christian teaching as the Resurrection. Yet, said he, doubt is not an insuperable obstacle. It can be overcome. Two of the published Rugby Chapel sermons are on "doubting Thomas."<sup>29</sup> In them, Arnold held that there are two kinds of doubt--willful disbelief, and thinking something too good to be true. Thomas' doubt was of the second kind, and was overcome by Christ's appearance. Similarly, healthy Christian doubts which reason cannot help are resolved by the revelation of God in Christ.

There is much in the Christian faith to which reason alone cannot rise. Arnold was quite ready to admit that.<sup>30</sup> He was also ready to admit the rational difficulties of Christian beliefs. For the eyes of faith see beyond the present age, and

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27. v.II, p.163

28. v.III, p.96

29. CL2, sermon XX, and IS, sermon XXII

30. v.II, p.95f

make judgments as to what is best for the Christian in the long run.<sup>31</sup> Revelation supplements the ordinary human understanding in religious matters. The Christian affection is the response of the whole man, emotionally and rationally, to the love of God in Christ. Still, said Arnold, despite the importance of revelation and emotion, practical religion is reasonable insofar as reason can comprehend it or respond to it.

(c) Personality of the Preacher

We have examined the style and main assertions of Arnold's sermons. They help explain why the Rugby Chapel pulpit became a rallying point for liberals and a source of moral inspiration for the boys. To conclude our survey, let us listen to the man himself, preaching from the pulpit of Rugby Chapel a sermon which must have "seized and held" the boys, "dragging them out of themselves."<sup>32</sup>

The sermon is based on the story of the Rich Young Ruler who came to Jesus, seeking to inherit eternal life. The young man went away sorrowing when Jesus asked him to sell his great possessions, give to the poor, and "take up the cross and follow" him. Arnold has paraphrased the Scripture and re-

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31. v.II, sermon I

32. These phrases are quoted from a portion of Tom Brown's Schooldays which was included in the preface to the 1878 edition of Arnold's Sermons:

"But what was it after all which seized and held these three hundred boys, dragging them out of themselves, willing or unwilling, for twenty minutes on Sunday afternoons?... We listened to a man whom we felt to be with all his heart and soul and strength striving against whatever was mean and unmanly and unrighteous in our little world. It was not the cold clear voice of one giving advice and warning from serene heights to those who were struggling and sinning below, but the warm living voice of one who was fighting for us and by our sides, calling on us to help him and ourselves and one another."

addresses Jesus' words to the boys: "You have followed me where it was easy, and you have done well, but now prepare for something far more trying,-- I call you to follow me where it is hard."<sup>33</sup>

He mentions specific trying situations in their daily lives:

"...the painful duty to be done, the scornful smile to be endured and unheeded, the unkindness to be borne without irritation or desire to return evil for evil, the regulation to be kept when it may be broken without detection, and apparently with no worse fault than the simple breaking it."<sup>33</sup>

"Being young and being at school" has kept them from following

Christ completely. But---"You have heard Christ's call to take up your cross and follow him, to serve him always in all things, small and great, in thought, word, and deed... Do not go away grieving, because you are young, and because you are at a place where temptations are many, and faithful steady service of Christ will cost you many a sacrifice. Turn not from him, but to him... with earnest prayer... And then, though the thing should be harder than that a camel pass through a needle's eye, yet it shall be done. The young and they that are at school, with all their carelessnesses, with all their difficulties from without as well as from within, they shall enter into the kingdom of God, for some have entered, and so shall some enter again, and so may all enter who do not turn away from their cross, but ask Christ's grace to help them bear it."<sup>34</sup>

Unless we visualize Arnold himself in the pulpit of Rugby Chapel, we shall never fully understand the secret of the influence of his sermons. The preacher's personality and the ideas expounded combine to determine the effectiveness of any sermon. In Arnold's case, the greater power lay in his personality, vigorous, eager, and earnest.<sup>35</sup> His ideas were not radical nor new, but were presented with a wholesome freshness.

Arnold's sermons help us to understand the man. In the light of the militant Protestantism he preached,<sup>36</sup> we can

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33. CL2, p.338

34. ibid., p.342

35. see pp. 109, 189 for more description of Arnold's personality.

36. see below, pp. 35, 41, 54, 66 cf. IS, p.218, CL1, pp.13-57



appreciate his total opposition to the Oxford Movement.

Doctrinally, his "enlightened evangelicalism"<sup>37</sup> helps explain the popular appeal of his sermons in an age when enlightenment and evangelicalism were usually opposed. Above all, the moral earnestness<sup>38</sup> of his preaching helps us understand how his example inspired social reformers, civil servants, and ordinary people to do their Christian duty.

Still, it was to the man more than to his sermons that those who were influenced by Arnold looked for guidance. Thus the Life of Arnold<sup>39</sup> has been often re-written and much re-read, while his sermons and miscellaneous writings lie untouched by modern readers. Arnold of Rugby was eminent and influential among the Victorians because of what he was, more than what he said.

## II. EXTENT OF ARNOLD'S AGREEMENT WITH EVANGELICALISM

"A good Christian with a low understanding, a bad education, and ignorance of the world becomes an Evangelical--...if you were to enlarge the understanding of an Evangelical, if you could remedy the defects of his education, and supply him with abundant knowledge of men and things, he would then become a most complete specimen of a true Christian."

--Thomas Arnold

One of the first things to notice in a more detailed examination of Arnold's message is the extent to which he followed the evangelical tradition. He claimed that his

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37. see p.34ff

38. see pp.50-53

39. see concluding remark, p. 188f



sermons were just as orthodox as those of anyone else who had written as many.<sup>1</sup> The justification of such a claim lies in the evangelical background of his religious thought in a time when Evangelicalism had just begun to lose its dominant position in Anglican theology.<sup>2</sup>

The Evangelicals of Arnold's day were narrow in their outlook, and Arnold differed with them completely on that score. He was interested in history, philosophy, and politics, and they were not. But in the field of Christian doctrine, Arnold followed their framework of thought--though the flesh with which he clothed the skeleton of evangelical doctrine was sometimes notably different from that of Evangelicalism.

Canon Storr, in his book, The Development of English Theology 1800-1860,<sup>3</sup> outlined five principal themes of the evangelical system: (1) "Belief in the Bible as the authoritative word of God". (2) "The depravity of human nature as the ground and occasion of Christ's redemptive work." (3) "The cross of Christ, conceived as the ground of God's forgiveness, and the only hope of the sinner." (4) "Justification by faith"--in particular, "an unquestioning acceptance of the saving power of Christ's death upon the cross." (5) "The reality of the Holy Spirit's operation in the human heart." Let us see what Arnold had to say on each of these five points.

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1. letter to Hawkins, Life, 11.135

2. "high and dry" orthodoxy was the other prominent school of Anglicanism during the generation preceeding Arnold.

3. pp. 67-70

(1) First of all, Arnold agreed with the Evangelicals, as did most protestant schools of thought in the early nineteenth century, upon the primacy of the Scriptures.<sup>4</sup> He held that the Bible is the sole authority for protestant faith and the only standard or norm for Christian teaching.<sup>5</sup>

However, Arnold did not rest his case for Biblical authority with the statement that the Bible is the revealed word of God. He pointed out the practical religious benefits of the Scriptures. They are rich, he said, "in wisdom, comfort, and raising our affections to God and to Christ."<sup>6</sup> The Old Testament revelation as well as the New is "profitable for the teaching of truth, and for the removing of error, for correcting all... amiss, and fostering every seal of good in us, for the perfecting of God's servants in all good works."<sup>7</sup>

(2) Arnold concurred with the second point of Evangelicalism, the corruption of human nature. "The Bible," he said, "tells us that man's nature is corrupt and bad"--"the wreck of what was originally good"<sup>8</sup>--and his own observations of growing boys confirmed the Biblical doctrine. In one of his two published sermons on The Fall, he gave this summary of the condition of mankind:

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<sup>4</sup>. He broke with them in his actual interpretation of Scripture, see below, pp. 93 *et seq*

<sup>5</sup>. v.III, p.23; CL1, p.335

<sup>6</sup>. v.II, p.267; cf. above, p.27

<sup>7</sup>. IS, p.331

<sup>8</sup>. v.II, p.46; v.III, p.267

"God has so ordered the course of nature in this world now become sinful, that mankind shall be unable to find happiness in those things in which.. their corrupted nature would seek it, the pleasures of the body or of understanding. It cannot be doubted that the corruption of our human nature consists in this very thing, that we are careless of God and seek our happiness from his creatures, either from ourselves or others. But he has ordered things so that this search can never succeed; if mankind will not seek.. happiness from God, there is a law of their condition which declares that they shall not find it elsewhere."<sup>9</sup>

Some of the Rugby sermons are reminiscent of Augustine's Confessions of the sins of his youth. "God is angry with the faults of young persons as with those of grown-up men," said Arnold.<sup>10</sup> Men tend to account boyish pranks and misdeeds as trivial, but they may be very serious sins in God's eyes. In long years of dealing with growing young lads, Arnold found that sin is deeply rooted in human nature in general, and in the nature of boys particularly.

Arnold repeated most of the orthodox evangelical statements about sin. Sin is caused, he said, by pride. This pride is ignorance of God that leads to false independence and disobedience. It is incompatible with Christian brotherhood.<sup>11</sup> Sin introduces a vicious circle into our lives, because no sin of ours can be forgiven unless we repent, and the more we sin the more hardened we become and the less likely we are to repent.<sup>12</sup> While thus holding that all sins are tragically serious, Arnold recognized a practical difference between a willful sin, such as

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9. IS, p.12f

10. v.II, p.58; cf. CL1, p.35 and v.II, pp.109ff

11. v.III, p.289; CL1, p.77f

12. v.II, p.145

Judas' betrayal of Christ, and a sin of infirmity, such as Peter's denial.<sup>13</sup>

Whereas the Evangelicals primarily asserted human depravity and sin as "the ground and occasion of Christ's redemptive work," Arnold's chief deduction from the doctrine of sin was the necessity of a vigorous struggle on the part of man to throw off his corrupt nature.<sup>14</sup> In this he differed radically from the Evangelicals. Here was the root of his moralism. Because he felt that it was imperative to root out evil at its inception, he did not hesitate to ask that a boy be withdrawn from Rugby "for the good of the school", even if the boy had no record of specific bad actions. Preaching again on the Fall, he said:

"This present nature is not our proper nature. The whole business of our lives is to cast it off, and to return to that better and holy nature... All individual experience.. and all history begin in something which is evil; all our course, whether as individuals or as nations is a progress, an advance, a leaving behind something bad, and going forward to something that is good. But individual experience and history apart from Christianity would make us regard this progress as fearfully uncertain."<sup>15</sup>

According to Arnold, the conflict between our ability to regain original righteousness and the actual inclination toward evil-doing makes all of life a great moral struggle, which man cannot win without the help of God in Christ.<sup>16</sup> Arnold was not as much of a pessimist about human nature as were the Evangelicals; he was more of an anxious optimist.

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13. v.II, p.134

14. see below, pp. 50ff

15. CL2, p.2

16. cf. v.III, p.112; CL1, p.56f, 200; CL2, p.112



(3) When he spoke of Christ and the cross, the third principal theme of the Evangelicals, Arnold again used many of their terms. But there is a more personal note implicit in Arnold's Christology--the idea of a "Christian affection"<sup>17</sup> or attitude, whose communication was his chief aim in preaching. He was more interested in Christ himself, and in the imitation of Christ, than in the doctrine of the Atonement. His most characteristic insight was the personal nature of a Christian's relationship with Christ, and he often preached about it.

The Rugby Chapel sermons reflect the warmth of the deep affection and loyalty to Christ which Arnold felt. Christ, he said, called Lazarus "friend", and told the disciples, "Ye are my friends if you do whatsoever I command you." We, too, can make Christ our friend, and indeed he begs us to let him be so.<sup>18</sup> We do not know him as we ought, but he beckons. His love constrains us.<sup>19</sup> To those who receive him he gives the privilege of becoming sons of God.<sup>20</sup> "His words are spirit and life; in his relations with us he fills at once our understandings and our affections, he is the wisdom of God and the love of God."<sup>21</sup>

The following brief summary of Christ's mission is taken from one of the Rugby sermons. It expresses not only Arnold's background of evangelical orthodoxy, but also his reverent appreciation of the person of Christ, and his concern that men

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17. see above, p.26

18. CL2, p.180

19. v.III, sermon I

20. ibid., sermon II

21. ibid., p.65f

should make an effort to respond to Christ:

"He came to save that which was lost; to redeem that which was bound and captive. He came to take us out of our common nature, to tear us away from the path which we were naturally treading; to give us another nature not our own; to set us in a new way of which the end is not death but life. He died upon the cross that this might be accomplished for us. He lives at the right hand of God exalted, and gives us the aid of his Holy Spirit, that we should each of us take our share of the gift purchased for us all; that we should each pass from death to life; that we should walk in the new way and be clothed with the new nature, and should be the children of God, and should therefore never die."<sup>22</sup>

Arnold was truly evangelical in his insistence upon Christ's divinity. He was strongly opposed to those who claim that Jesus was truly human but not divine. They have to distort the Scriptures, he said, until such passages as "Before Abraham was, I am" are explained away as meaning only that Jesus existed in God's intention before the incarnation. The simple and obvious meaning is that Jesus was the pre-existent Christ.<sup>23</sup> Further, God's three-fold seal upon him--the seal of wisdom, goodness, and power,--proves Christ's divinity. His recorded words and deeds show his wisdom and goodness; his resurrection and ascension into heaven show his power.<sup>24</sup> Christ, said Arnold, is our Divine Friend and Savior--a great High Priest<sup>25</sup> "touched by the feeling of our infirmities."

It is interesting to compare Arnold's views about Christ

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22. CL2, p.116

23. IS, p.210

24. v.III, p.78, 219

25. Arnold further developed the idea of the priesthood of Christ in v.III, pp.115-117; he distinguished Christ's priesthood from the "false priesthood" of the Roman Catholic Church in IS, p.218

and the cross with the "classic" idea of the Atonement as set forth by Aulen in Christus Victor. Arnold's discussion of atonement is always in terms either of the satisfaction theory (Anselm) or of an ethical theory.<sup>26</sup> He subscribed partially to both kinds of theory. However, the background of Arnold's thought is "dualistic-dramatic", and his doctrine of the Christian Life is really a projection onto the contemporary scene of the "classic" idea of atonement. Christ is in man, overcoming the forces of evil and gaining a reconciliation of man with God.<sup>27</sup>

Arnold's main purpose in preaching on the Atonement was neither to elaborate a doctrine nor to point out the cosmic drama involved. Rather, he was concerned to show the implications for the lives of individual persons of Christ's life and death upon the cross. He did recognize the objective aspects of atonement, but gave prominence to the subjective side. In a sermon on Christ's crucifixion, he used Luke 23:55 as the text--

"And the people stood beholding."

"It was our Lord upon the cross they were beholding, and they who so beheld him were... an infinite variety of persons with an infinite variety of feelings... And so it is still; Christ is crucified among us daily, and the people stand beholding."<sup>28</sup>

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26. Arnold claimed that Christ's death accomplished four purposes: Christ died as a "proper sacrifice for sin." God's justice required Christ's death and his love fulfilled the requirement. Christ's death is a "motive capable of overcoming all temptations to evil." It should have power "to melt the hardest heart and sober the lightest."
- Christ suffered for us, "leaving an example that we should follow... of perfect submission to God's will."
- Christ died "that he might gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad....-- his Universal Church."
27. see below, pp. 50 ff (CL2, p.260f)
28. CL2, sermon XXVII

We behold Christ crucified in the sins people commit every day, as well as in the historical record of the Scriptures. And, said Arnold, it is not just "people" who are guilty, but you and I. Some of us are indifferent to the sin, some are glad in it, and some are sorry. When we behold the cross and the sin which crucifies our Lord continually, we should so hate the sin as to drive it out.

In summary, Arnold's thought of Christ and the cross bore some resemblance to evangelicalism, but it was more like later liberalism. While similar in some respects to both the "classic" and "subjective" types of atonement theory, Arnold's views were still his own, and the most accurate single word of description would be "moralistic". Arnold had a different and more personal insight into Christ's impact upon his followers than was common in the rather mechanical theology of the Evangelicals.

(4) Arnold, like the Evangelicals, laid great stress upon the doctrine of justification by faith. But, again, his exposition of the doctrine was more personal and less mechanical than the "unquestioning acceptance of the saving power of Christ's death upon the cross" advocated by evangelicalism. Arnold preached salvation by the grace of God through faith, as well as man's ethical responsibility. Because he stressed both poles of Christian belief, the Anglo-Catholics, at one extreme, disliked him for his "Lutheranism"<sup>29</sup> and the Evangelicals, at the

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29. perhaps the "Lutheran" character of Arnold's preaching about justification is due to the sense of personal relation with Christ which Arnold and Luther both felt strongly.



other extreme, disliked him for his "latitudinarianism". None of his theological opponents took as great pains as did Arnold to reconcile "faith" and "works".

Arnold preached four sermons directly upon the problem of faith versus works, using texts from Galatians, James, and the Gospel of John.<sup>30</sup> The Epistle of James, he said, consistently follows a moral, rather than a doctrinal view of Christianity.<sup>31</sup> It is opposed to a misunderstanding of Paul's doctrine. What James calls "faith without works" is mere correct opinion, and is not at all what Paul means by "faith." James, like Paul, would condemn the doctrine that man can earn salvation.

Arnold went on to make a characteristic distinction between ceremonial works and moral works, or "spiritual holiness." Paul, he admitted, was arguing that just as "no man could be justified by the law of ceremonies, because of its inherent unprofitableness, so neither could any man be justified by the law of spiritual holiness (moral works), because of his imperfect fulfillment of it."<sup>32</sup> However, that does not put ceremonial and moral works on the same level. "Ceremonial works, it is true, are of no value, but moral (works) are of the greatest, and while it is said that we are not justified by them, it is not owing to any fault or unworthiness on their part, but on ours; not that they are not in themselves precious, but that we do not fulfill them."<sup>33</sup>

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30. IS, sermon XXXIV, and CL2, sermons XXIV - XXVI)

31. IS, p.358

32. CL2, p.351

33. ibid., p.356

Arnold was thorough-going in his insistence upon justification by faith. He feared the danger of a doctrine of recovery of the state of justification, after backsliding, by works--which would place emphasis upon recovery and works rather than upon original justification and faith. The only answer to the problem, he said, is that "the same faith which brought us to Christ is to keep us in our life afterwards in Christ."<sup>34</sup> Faith in Christ leads first to repentance, then to forgiveness, then to justification, and finally to the life in Christ. Once redeemed, we grow in grace to fully enter the Kingdom of God, which has come only partially and imperfectly.<sup>35</sup> Faith, prayer, and works are combined in the life in Christ.

In his discussion of justification by faith, Arnold accepted both the primacy of God's initiative, in Christ, and the necessity of man's response to it. "The work of turning souls is God's only; and your own each for himself, is in not resisting the workings of his Spirit for your good."<sup>36</sup> Thus, he managed to be both Christocentric and practical, both evangelical and liberal, in his own thinking and preaching.

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**Note:** Arnold defined faith quite simply: "It is that feeling or faculty within us by which the future becomes to our minds greater than the present; and what we do not see, more powerful to influence us than what we do see." (see above, p.24) Faith in Christ, he said, differs from other kinds of faith only in its object. But since the Godhead is the most excellent object of faith, faith in God through Christ is faith's perfection. Faith in Christ is the "victory that overcomes the world" as the lives of the saints clearly show. "Reading the Scriptures, prayer, and the partaking of the Lord's Supper" lead to faith in Christ. (see v.II, pp.3,8,13, and IS, p.408)

34. CL2, p.368

35. CL1, p.395; cf. also p.229

36. IS, p.206

(5) Arnold's most complete agreement with the Evangelicals was in the fifth point of their system, "the reality of the Holy Spirit's operation in the human heart." He spoke of the Holy Spirit as the "Holy Ghost," "God's Spirit," the "Spirit of Christ," or simply as "the Spirit." What is this Spirit? God's presence with us, said Arnold, giving us aid in our moral struggles and infusing life with a kind of "divine excitement."<sup>37</sup> Having the Spirit, though, is not to be confused with common excitement. "While giving a perpetual interest to life,... (it) is also perpetually soothing, because it calls us to those thoughts and those quiet and humble actions which must be sobering."<sup>38</sup>

The Spirit is the Comforter whom Christ promised: "The Spirit of God, in which is contained all the fullness of the Godhead, is the Spirit of Christ also."<sup>39</sup> It is through Christ that we receive the Holy Spirit "which alone makes us abide in him and in his likeness forever."<sup>40</sup>

The Spirit, said Arnold, is the free gift of God. Yet even here his moral earnestness came to the fore with a qualification--the only thing required to receive the Spirit is an act of the will: "In the things of religion, it is the will that we all want, and not the power; it is the appetite for our spiritual food.. that is required; it is our hearts that are sick and weak and not our understandings... Be assured that no request which you can make to the kindest of earthly fathers will be so readily granted as the request you make to your heavenly Father, that he will teach you to love him... You will be brought by the Holy Spirit to know and to love the Father, and his son Jesus Christ."<sup>41</sup>

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37. IS, sermon III

38. ibid., p.314

39. CL1, p.298

40. v.III, p.117

41. v.II, pp.53-55

To walk in the Spirit, we need only seek to do so.<sup>42</sup>

Arnold felt deeply the great benefits conferred by the Holy Spirit.<sup>43</sup> The Spirit will lead us into all truth, if we humbly ask for guidance.<sup>44</sup> In fact, without the aid of the Spirit, it is impossible to understand the truths of God.<sup>45</sup> The Spirit helps us pray;<sup>46</sup> it sets us free from the law of sin and death.<sup>47</sup> Love, joy, peace, and the like are fruits of the Spirit.<sup>48</sup> Even a tiny manifestation of the Spirit--such as in an outward profession of Christianity<sup>49</sup>--is helpful, for it may grow to control the whole life.<sup>50</sup>

Growth under the guidance of the Spirit was what Arnold meant by the "Christian Life."<sup>51</sup> "Our life's work it is to realize to ourselves, individually, what is true at first of us by a charitable presumption."<sup>52</sup> The important question is: "Are we receiving the Holy Ghost since we believed?"<sup>53</sup> If so, we shall continue to grow in grace and abound in good works until we are drawn into life eternal.

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- 42. CL1, p.81f
  - 43. v.III, p.164
  - 44. IS, p.64
  - 45. CL1, p.177
  - 46. CL2, p.202
  - 47. CL1, p.101
  - 48. ibid., p.229
  - 49. ibid., p.163
  - 50. CL2, p.269
  - 51. see below, pp.
  - 52. CL2, p.397
  - 53. CL1, p.283



### III. CONVICTIONS UNDERLYING ARNOLD'S THEOLOGY

"But thou would'st not alone  
 Be saved, my father! .....  
 If, in the paths of the world,  
 Stones might have wounded thy feet,  
 Toil or dejection have tried  
 Thy spirit, of that we saw  
 Nothing--to us thou was still  
 Cheerful, and helpful, and firm!  
 Therefore, to thee it was given  
 Many to save with thyself;  
 And, at the end of thy day,  
 O faithful shepherd! to come,  
 Bringing thy sheep in thy hand."  
 --Matthew Arnold

#### (a) Concern for Reform

We have already noticed<sup>1</sup> that Arnold as a student was fired with a student's zeal to reform the world. While his zeal was somewhat dampened by the excesses of the French Revolution, his concern for reform never left him, and the full import of his religious thought cannot be understood without taking cognizance of this fact.

The depth of Arnold's concern for reform can be seen readily from his willingness to espouse unpopular causes. He had to dig deep into his own pocket to finance reform measures. Politically, Arnold opposed the Tories and favored a more representative Parliament. This was quite an unusual position for an Anglican clergyman of his time to take. Fearing a repetition of the extremes of the French Revolution in England, he also opposed the radicals, and any sign of Jacobinism.<sup>2</sup> But he was an active and wholehearted supporter of the Reform Bill of 1832.

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1. see above, p.4

2. He feared the Chartists and Trade Unions of the 1830's to be agents of mob violence, and with some reason.

Arnold's undertaking of the weekly Englishman's Register in 1831 cost him over two hundred pounds in addition to much valuable time. When it had to be discontinued, he kept on taking time out to write a series of letters on reform to the Sheffield Courant; and when disturbances became serious again in 1839, he wrote another series to the Hertford Reformer. These newspaper articles and letters were about political or ecclesiastical reform, or elections, or the conditions of the working classes generally. They contain many pungent comments on the state of the nation that are well worth repeating:

"Who can wish success to that blind ignorance which cannot see that all things are and must be forever changing?... ..England cannot remain what it has been; and the endeavor to detain a state of things which is passing away is, at the best, a waste of.. effort."<sup>3</sup>

"..More is expected from the Reform Bill than either can or ought to come from it, but it is still a measure of great necessity... and great justice."<sup>4</sup>

"..The old form of common English Toryism, whether in its earlier shape of devotion to Church and King, or in its later character of an attachment to Aristocracy... will influence the fortunes of this nation no more. We confess that this total overthrow of an enemy lately so formidable has wonderfully lessened our hostility toward it."<sup>5</sup>

"..The unhappy situation in which the poor and rich... stand to each other... is still the great evil from which we are suffering... The evil is in our feelings quite as much or more than in our outward condition. Here are two classes of people in the same country constantly coming in each other's way, yet with very little sympathy in each other's feelings, or views, or pleasures."<sup>6</sup>

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3. Misc., p.116

4. ibid., p.126; cf. article, "The Reform Bill," p.150

5. ibid., p.135

6. ibid., p.144f

"Our present distress is owing--(1) to the long war.. (2) to the natural tendency of wealth to become richer, and of poverty to become poorer... (3) to the effect of wealth in making men more alive to, and more able to procure, intellectual pleasures; while poverty renders the same pleasures at once undesired and unattainable... (4) to the Poor laws,.. (because of their) encouraging a want of forethought and exertion in the poor, and accustoming them not to look higher than the bare necessities of life... (5) to the excess of aristocracy in our whole system, religious, political, and social."7

"..The grand grievances of the laborer are two-fold: his absolute want of comforts,.. and his degradation in society... (This evil) has not been brought about intentionally... It is the consequence of the violent stimulus or spur given to the progress of society in our days... We have been living, as it were, the life of three hundred years in thirty."8

Arnold's primary aim in his reform articles was to get people to think intelligently, rather than act emotionally.9 He saw that no single act or policy could possibly remedy the situation;10 nor would violence provide the way out. The real solution lay in giving the poor more learning, and the rich a better understanding of the problems of the poor. Arnold thought that a chastened aristocracy and a purified Established Church would be instruments of help to raise the standards of the working classes.11

Arnold had even more to say about ecclesiastical reform than about political reform. In one letter to the Sheffield Courant, he outlined five reforms he felt the Church Establishment needed: (1) Commutation of tithes. (2) Remodelling the

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- 7. Misc., p.175f
  - 8. ibid., p.179
  - 9. ibid., p.183
  - 10. ibid., p.188
  - 11. ibid., p.214f

episcopacy by (a) making translations illegal, and (b) increasing the incomes of poorer bishoprics from the resources of richer ones. (3) Division of dioceses for purposes of efficiency. (4) Creating new parishes in large towns, with resident ministers. (5) Setting up a system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the prompt punishment of "unclerical neglect of duty."<sup>12</sup> At another time, he suggested reviving the order of deacons in such a way as to relieve the shortage of ministers in heavily populated districts.<sup>13</sup> Always he came back to the idea of Church unity--a comprehensive National Church.<sup>14</sup> Many of the reforms he suggested have been realized, and others have been put forward again more recently, but with greater sanction on the part of ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>15</sup>

The reforms which Arnold advocated were not to be made by the clergy (and it was at this point that he roused the ire of the Tractarians), but by the whole nation, lay as well as clerical, through legislative enactment in Parliament. He felt that the bishops should retain their seats in the House of Lords--not as representatives of the Church, but as representatives of a segment of society. The King, he said, should remain head of the Church, leaving the actual administration of Church affairs to bishops, diocesan assemblies, and other such church bodies.<sup>14</sup>

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12. Misc., p.220

13. ibid., pp.427ff

14. see below, Arnold's Theory of Church and State, pp.

15. e.g., Archbishop of Canterbury's Cambridge Sermon on Church Union, November 3rd, 1946.



The National Christian Fellowship which Arnold envisioned would have been in a good position to enforce the practical morality which he preached. But Arnold's reformed and united Church was too visionary for his contemporaries. Instead of becoming a bishop in such a reformed Church of England, Arnold remained a schoolmaster who also occupied the pulpit of Rugby Chapel on Sunday afternoons, and spent his spare time writing upon questions of reform.

(b) Reliance upon Christian Experience

In his concern for reform, Arnold showed a willingness to criticize intelligently established forms and practices which alienated lovers of the Establishment.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, he was set apart from orthodox tradition by a reliance upon Christian experience which was expressed in his moral earnestness.<sup>17</sup>

Traditional evangelicalism had its moral piety, and the high church tradition had its moral disciplines. The thing in Arnold that was different from the morality of either of these groups was his earnestness--based, as we have said, upon Christian experience rather than doctrine or authority. Into the dry bones of a classic moral theory, he breathed a living earnestness that was born of Christian experience. His moral earnestness was contagious enough to help set the moral tone of the Victorian era.<sup>18</sup>

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16. The same critical spirit made him seek to re-interpret the Scriptures, see below, pp. 93 <sup>et seq</sup>

17. cf. his German contemporary, Schleiermacher; see above pp. 33-45,

18. see below, especially pp. 181ff passim

Arnold's estimate of human nature came out of practical experience, and the practical consequence of his agreement with the orthodox doctrine of man's sinfulness was a renewed effort to battle the forces of evil.<sup>18</sup> The Rugby boys always remembered their headmaster as a man who could give the devil his due. No preaching from his lips was more natural than the assertion that life is a great moral struggle, and that only with God's help in Christ can victory be gained.

Using many different approaches, again and again Arnold led the hearers of his sermons back to the moral struggle. Either good spirits or evil spirits will possess our lives, he said. There is no neutral spirit. If the house of our soul is not occupied by the Spirit of God, evil spirits will come to dwell in it, and sin will more and more abound there.<sup>19</sup> We do not know exactly what spirits are, but we can see their power over men. Sinning is prompted by evil spirits, just as goodness is encouraged by the Holy Spirit.<sup>20</sup>

Out of his experience, again, Arnold asserted that too few of us obey God. We prefer to show our "independence", which is actually self-will and ignorance. Obedience without fear to what we know is right is a far higher principle than independence?<sup>21</sup> We ought to choose the right and to profit by holy things<sup>22</sup>--yet

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18. see above, p.37

19. CL1, sermon XV

20. IS, p.179

21. v.III, pp.289ff

22. cf. v.III, sermon XXVI

we do not. "Still the truth is set before men and they reject it; or stranger still, they say that they receive it, while in fact they are all the while rejecting it."<sup>23</sup>

Ethical enthusiasm such as Arnold's might have been linked to a concept of progress which denied the reality of sin; or, more likely, Arnold's doctrine of moral struggle might have been linked to a philosophic dualism of the powers of light pitted against the powers of darkness. But Arnold did not commit himself either to automatic progress, or to ultimate philosophic dualism. His ethical teaching resulted from the realization, by a vigorous mind and fighting spirit, of sin's corrupting power. When Arnold described the moral struggle in specifically religious terms, he called it the struggle to remove sin from our life. Paul called it the "death of sin," he said.<sup>24</sup> If we do not accomplish the "death of sin", it will mean the death of our souls. Whatever the final issue, life is one long struggle involving painful effort.<sup>25</sup>

The moral struggle, said Arnold, can be transformed by the presence of Christ into the Christian life.<sup>26</sup> Christ is the deciding factor in the battle of life. His grace will guarantee the "death of sin" and life eternal. It is up to us to begin by praying that God, for Christ's sake, will enable us to overcome our most besetting faults.

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23. CL2, p.460

24. ibid., p.180

25. ibid., p.189

26. CL2, p.59,387, 458

Man's sin makes the moral struggle necessary; faith in Christ transforms it into a victorious Christian life. Such was Arnold's own observation and experience. Things are different after Christ enters our life. It is still a struggle, in the sense that we must put forth great effort, but it is no longer a hopeless struggle. In the Christian life<sup>27</sup> we fight with God against all that he abhors; we no longer struggle blindly against the things that we dislike.<sup>28</sup> If the way seems hard to follow, or the line between good and evil seems blurred and indistinct, then we need to draw closer to Christ. False worship is the chief cause of confusion in the Christian life;<sup>29</sup> true worship of God in Christ is the only sure guide.

Arnold's reliance upon Christian experience is also borne out in his concept of Christian affection. Raising our affections to Christ, he said, is the essential business of Christian living. If we make Christ's words familiar, recall his actions, and imagine the way he must have looked, "may we not hope that we shall grow ourselves to be more like him?"<sup>30</sup> For practical purposes, the Christian life simply means making Christ our pattern and the object of our affections.

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27. Arnold defined the Christian life as man's response to the claim of Christ made upon him in his everyday life. It is an absolute claim, he said, and not to be minimized by other claims or actions. "One who endeavors to follow Christ sincerely can never be satisfied with the excuse that he acts and thinks quite as well as the mass of persons about him... or to be told in common language, 'Everybody thinks so; everybody does so.'" (CL1, p.89)

28. IS, p.38

29. CL2, p.283

30. v.III, p.34



It was this experiential concept of Christian affection which helped Arnold to reconcile morality and grace in his thinking. On the face of it, human efforts to be good seem quite outside of a theological system which proclaims God's initiative in bringing man back to himself. A religion of morality and a religion of grace are poles apart. Yet Arnold asserted with equal vehemence the necessity of human efforts and the primacy of divine initiative in the Christian life. The Tractarians of Arnold's day, like the Roman Catholics, reconciled human efforts to be good with divine initiative by means of a sacramental system which made the ministrations and regulations of the Church uniformly necessary as principles of morality and means of grace. Morality, to them, was based on God's holiness; grace, on God's love--and both were mediated through the Church. Arnold, however, could not accept the sacramental system and the authority of the Church. To him, morality was achieved by the imitation of Christ, and grace was mediated by the Holy Spirit. Morality and grace were joined together in Christian affection, and from their union the Christian life was begotten. So closely were morality and grace related in Arnold's thought that in three of the Rugby sermons he urged his hearers to "lay hold on grace," to "stir up the grace of God" in them, and to "gather up the fragments (of grace) that remain, that nothing be lost."<sup>31</sup>

The experiential nature of Arnold's religion is brought out again in his concept of Christian freedom. Just as his idea of

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31. CL2, sermon XI; IS, p.197; CL2, sermon XIX

Christian affection helped reconcile morality with grace, so also his reliance upon Christian experience helped reconcile the Law and the Gospel. For Arnold was a practical religious moralist, and not a legal moralist.<sup>32</sup> He cherished the glorious liberty of the gospel far too much to allow entanglement with the bondage of legalism. He said that the obligations of the Christian life are really privileges, not just duties. Yet the exigencies of life at Rugby showed beyond doubt the need of rules for Christian living which define these "duties" or "privileges." Arnold was thus forced to recognize the polarity between Christian morality and Christian freedom; between Law and Gospel, Judgment and Salvation.

Arnold described the relation of tension between these poles of Christian belief in the terms of St. Paul: "the Law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ." (Galatians 3:24)  
 "There are many in every age... who cannot bear all that Christ has to say unto them, because they are not yet led by the Spirit, and neither their hearts nor their understandings can yet receive the perfect truth."<sup>33</sup>

To the extent that these people cannot live by the Spirit, they must live under the law. We are not all sufficiently advanced in Christian feeling and Christian practice to receive the great truths of the gospel.<sup>34</sup> Moral rules, law, and judgment all apply to a preparatory life, as it were, the boyhood of the Christian life.

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32. Arnold's morality had a decidedly stiffer quality to it than did evangelical piety; yet he was always willing to relax the rules of Christian living in favor of a Christian spirit.

33. v.II, p.88

34. ibid., p.105

In Arnold's thinking, the relation between the Law and the Gospel was paralleled by the relation between Judgment and Salvation. To Paul, he said, the Judgment of God and the Law meant the same thing.<sup>35</sup> God's judgments are not chastisements. The former express God's retributive justice; the latter his mercy and salvation. Judgment is made of sins past; chastisement warns from sins to come.<sup>36</sup> Such things as widespread disease and fear of revolution, which were current in 1832, Arnold termed chastisements. The fear they brought might be turned into blessing. Pestilence and times of trial are helpful warnings to make peace with God.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, said Arnold, the sufferings of the Israelites and the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem were judgments of God, brought about by breach of the covenant.

Arnold's distinction between judgments and chastisements was relative, and not absolute. Compared with the great final Judgment<sup>38</sup>, all other judgments are mere chastisements. Conversely, every thing that happens is, in a broad sense, the judgment of God.<sup>39</sup> But whether "judgments" or "chastisements" the important thing to Arnold was that they were part of God's infinitely wise government of the world--part of the plan of salvation.<sup>40</sup> Thus, awareness of God's judgment was, to him, the first step in man's salvation. "The Law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ."

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35. CL1, p.102

36. IS, p.89f

37. v.II, sermon XXXIV

38. IS, p.49f

39. ibid., p.339

40. ibid., p.343

Salvation, said Arnold, comes from the Gospel, and releases the Christian from the disciplines of Law and Judgment, into Christian freedom. The Christian, following Jesus, is not obliged to adhere to strict regulations, such as Sabbath-keeping.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, many in the Church are unable to advance from the stage of Law and Judgment into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. "The long and unvaried practice of the Church in keeping the first day holy shows us their sad feeling and confession that they were not fit for that liberty; that the Law, which God would fain have loosed from off them, was still needed to be their schoolmaster."<sup>42</sup>

To be free from the bondage of the Law, and to receive the truths of the Gospel, men must repent and be forgiven. Illustrating the need for repentance, Arnold cited two New Testament characters, John the Baptist<sup>43</sup> and Zaccheus. The former spent his whole ministry exhorting repentance to prepare for the coming Messiah. The latter was a publican who needed to repent, for he was far from the kingdom of God. Yet when Jesus came, he unhesitatingly did just that, and was forgiven. "The forgiveness was entire and immediate, because the repentance had been no less unhesitating and no less entire."<sup>44</sup>

This led Arnold straight to the heart of the doctrine of justification.<sup>45</sup> Forgiveness, though prepared by repentance, is not earned thereby. It is simply due to the mercy of God. Man must cast himself utterly upon God, and not cling to any feeble straw of his own righteousness.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>. v.III, p.257

<sup>42</sup>. ibid., p.261

<sup>43</sup>. IS, p.146

<sup>44</sup>. ibid., p.158

<sup>45</sup>. see above, p.41

<sup>46</sup>. IS, p.125



Arnold found through experience that men must try with all their might to live up to a moral code, and failing that must cast themselves upon the righteousness of God. Law and Gospel, duty and freedom, morality and grace are all bound together in the eternal paradox of the Christian experience of life, which must ever confound the logic of the theologian.

A religious thinker who was primarily a moralist, relying upon experience, would scarcely be expected to have much to say about eschatology. Yet, interestingly enough, Arnold made even eschatology to express his reliance upon Christian experience. To him, last things were a vindication of moral earnestness and the Christian way of living. In the end of individual lives, Arnold saw an instructive reminder of the essential business of living; in the end of time, he saw a forceful demonstration of the triumph of "things eternal."

The second coming of Christ, said Arnold, will be a day of vindication for the faithful, when the world itself will come to an end.<sup>47</sup> The whole state of things which we experience will pass away, for they are temporal things. But things eternal will last on. Christ's words have an eternal significance that is staggering. "Heaven and earth shall pass away," said Christ, "but my words shall not pass away."<sup>48</sup> Even those who believe that the world will end, sometimes treasure temporal things in spite of their belief. If they truly realized that eternal

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47. v.III, p.79,99; v.II, p.161f

48. Mark 13:31

things will last on when the temporal have perished, then they would treasure eternal things. God in Christ would become their all in all.<sup>49</sup>

At the end, the wicked will be shown to have been foolish as well as wicked.<sup>50</sup> God allows the tares to grow with the wheat, and the unjust to increase in their injustice--but only until the harvest, only until the Last Judgment.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, we should earnestly cultivate the good in our lives during the time allotted to us. Through faith in Christ we must lay hold on things eternal.

Arnold recognized that the end of individual lives was of more immediate concern to his hearers than the end of time. Death comes to all men, and it is even certain that some school-boys will die before attaining manhood.<sup>52</sup> Sudden death may befall anyone at any time. "Indeed, we ought to say, 'If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this or that,' and not only to say so, but to bear deeply in our minds the real and important truth of what we are saying."<sup>53</sup>

Now, the fact that death may be near does not mean that we should be indifferent to beauty, art, and learning in this life. "In this.. death will not unteach us the lesson of our past life, but finding that we have learned it sufficiently, will call us on to something beyond."<sup>54</sup> But death will teach us to mourn over

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49. CL2, p.257f

50. v.II, p.93

51. *ibid.*, p.162

52. CL2, p.100

53. *ibid.*, p.4

54. Sermons Preached in the Chapel of Rugby School (New ed.) (London: B.Fellowes, 1845), sermon XXIX, p.308. This is one of two sermons added to v.II for the new edition.

feelings of pride, selfishness, and unkindness. The thought of death can be a great sobering influence. It can make us work all the harder at the things which really matter, "for the night cometh when no man can work."<sup>55</sup> At the death-bed, things are brought into proper perspective. "We judge of things then as God judges of them; for an instant, our view of earth and earthly things is like his."<sup>56</sup> Death instructs us in the Christian life.

Death, to Arnold, showed the wisdom of the Christian life; the resurrection from the dead was, to him, the triumph of the Christian life. The true Christian is morally certain of being raised from the dead because God does not let perish anyone who lives "principally" in relation to him.<sup>57</sup> Jesus' resurrection is similarly certain, because of God's moral order. The consistency, the probability, and the beauty of the truth in Christ Jesus would be destroyed if we denied his resurrection.<sup>58</sup> Time of trial amply proves how vital the resurrection faith is as a vindication of the Christian life. "Faith which takes death within its prospect, and looks on boldly to something beyond, is at once the greatest elevation and the greatest blessing of humanity."<sup>59</sup> Death is only a sleep, and when Christ awakens us from that sleep, we come into an eternal inheritance.<sup>60</sup> God is God of the living, not the dead. In the end, he will vindicate the faithful, and bring about a new heaven and new earth.

55. IS, p.228f

56. ibid., p.204

57. v.III, sermon XIII

58. ibid., p.137

59. CL2, p.315; v.II, p.15

60. v.II, p.272f

(c) Breadth of Christian Conception

The urge to reach out and comprehend all of life was inherent in Arnold's religious thought. We see this largeness of Christian conception in his interest in Church union,<sup>61</sup> and in his concern for political reform.<sup>62</sup> It goes hand in hand with his moral earnestness, for morality that is in earnest will seek to affect the whole of life. In Arnold's extensive preaching about Christian living, we find not so much a system of morality as a concern for the outreach of Christianity and its practice in all of life.

Arnold would not tolerate any monasticism, or any idea of a religious life set apart from the world. The Christian life, he said, can and should be lived by all, not by a select few. To restrict the holy life to the clergy would be dangerous, since raising the standard of holiness for the few tends to lower it for the many.<sup>63</sup> Christ calls all his followers to a life of holiness. In all labors "we are worse than nothing unless we glorify God through Jesus Christ."<sup>64</sup>

The Christian life, according to Arnold, is a social concern to each Christian. The outreach of Christianity cannot be satisfied with a private affair between the individual and God. "Every one of us who becomes awakened to a real sense of what it is to be a Christian has a double call upon him, to save himself and his brethren also."<sup>65</sup>

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61. see below, p. 70f

62. see above, p. 46f

63. v.III, p.121; cf. v.II, sermon XIII

64. v.II, p.193; cf. IS, p.63, 120

65. v.III, p.163



If we cannot always help others, at least we can refrain from hindering them.<sup>66</sup> The corporate nature of the Christian life is graphically shown by the highest act of Christian worship, the partaking of Holy Communion.<sup>67</sup>

Arnold's social concern was far removed from the sort of humanitarianism which believes in good without God. "It is precisely because men feel that even without a lively sense of God himself... they can speak truth and do justice and feel devoted love, that therefore they are blind themselves to their infinite danger."<sup>68</sup> He advocated visiting the poor, not just because it would do them good, but because it would help establish a larger Christian fellowship. Failure to know the poor tends to make the feelings and relations of the wealthier toward them very unchristian.<sup>69</sup>

Arnold's conception of the duties of the Christian life was quite broad and extensive. It includes, he said, some duties that are unpleasant. Surely when Jesus commended "washing one another's feet," he meant that Christians should be willing to perform troublesome and disagreeable tasks.<sup>70</sup> The Christian way of life also includes many pleasant duties and privileges. The Christian ought to cultivate such virtues as patience<sup>71</sup>, humility,<sup>72</sup> and thankfulness.<sup>73</sup> Above all, he should be morally

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66. CL2, p.161

67. CL1, p.330

68. CL2, p.418f

69. v.II, sermon XVI

70. ibid., sermon XVI

71. v.III, sermon XXVIII

72. IS, p.282

73. v.III, sermon XXIX

earnest<sup>74</sup>--not grimly devoted to duty, but joyfully and carefully pursuing the Christian way with a wide-awake conscience.

The breadth of Arnold's conception of the Christian life can be seen from his discussion of its rhythm and variations. Using a series of five sermons<sup>75</sup>, he first called attention to the necessity of diligence at whatever business is ours<sup>76</sup> Then he showed that our business, like Christ's, is to do God's will in the different situations of life. "Our great business and object in the world is to do all the good we can in it: our great business and object is to do God's will and so to be changed through the Spirit into his image, that we may be fit to live with him forever."<sup>77</sup>

But along with great activity and doing good continually, we need periods of rest. Holidays, as well as times of incessant labor, have been sanctified by Christ for our benefit.<sup>78</sup> The great festivals of the Christian year, and the religious awakenings in our personal lives are important and valuable, but the quiet times, the ordinary seasons and ordinary means of grace, are no less valuable. "God is not far from every one of us; never is the true Christian left alone."<sup>79</sup>

In addition to the rhythmic variations of the Christian life, Arnold also called attention to individual variations. Many varieties are comprehended in the term "Christian". There are differences in the Christian practice of old age, middle age, and youth. The older can teach the younger, for youth

74. CL1, p.180

75. v.II, sermons XXI - XXV

76. This is echoed by IS, sermon XXI: "Work while it is day, and not be idle"... "Certainly the particular business of our profession.. is to us the work of God."

77. v.II, p.237

78. ibid., p.246

79. v.III, p.91

particularly need the Christian "seed" in their character development.<sup>80</sup> The Christian life is a growing thing.<sup>81</sup> Only rare saints can attain the Christian life in its highest sense. In its lowest sense, however, all who profess Christ have already attained it. Most Christians will find that they have attained a kind of Christian life that is somewhere between sainthood and a mere profession of faith, and that they are progressing upward in their practice of Christianity.<sup>82</sup>

Arnold preached so much about the practice of the Christian life--about Christian duties and virtues, about social concern and individual obligations--that his reputation as a moralist was assured. His moral principles were not peculiar; it was his earnestness that was distinctive. It is difficult for a critic to find fault with Arnold's moral principles. The major criticism of his system of morality is that it was so comprehensive that it defies description, and cannot properly be called a "system" at all.

Arnold of Rugby combined the concept of "Christian affection" with ideas of Christian duties, privileges, discipline, and freedom from many and varied moral and theological systems. A reader or critic from almost any theological background should be able to find much in Arnold with which he would wholeheartedly agree.

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80. CL1, sermon XI

81. Note, however, that the "neglected good or committed evil" of early life "may be beyond the power of after-regret to undo." (CL1, p.129)

82. CL1, p.136

#### IV. ARNOLD'S THEORY OF CHURCH AND STATE

"In whatever degree the State differs from the Church, it becomes in that exact proportion unchristian."

--Thomas Arnold<sup>1</sup>

Arnold's theory of the relationship of Church and State was the chief published result of his intended book on "Christian Politics."<sup>2</sup> Put in its simplest terms, his theory was that Church and State are, or should be, identical.<sup>3</sup> The same society expresses itself both religiously and politically. In its religious capacity, we call it the Church, and in its political capacity, we call it the State. Yet, essentially and ideally, it is the same society--an extensive group of Christian people working together to achieve their highest collective good.

Arnold's theory was really a development of the ideas of Richard Hooker and other early Anglican divines. Hooker assumed that every Englishman was, or should be, a Christian, making Church and Commonwealth one.<sup>4</sup> However, in 1833, the identity theory had come to be looked upon with disfavor. On the one hand, the High Churchmen and Tories wanted more autonomy for the Church, because they feared the Whig reformers. On the other hand, the Whigs included dissenters and anti-Church

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1. Life, ii.132

2. see above, p.29

3. History, p.51; cf. Life, ii.132; see also Forrest, Authority of Christ, pp.230ff

4. Hooker recognized a difference between the "natural", "civil", and "spiritual" estates in the one Church-commonwealth. See Book VIII of his Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.



radicals among their supporters, and were not inclined to advance the cause of the Established Church. So Arnold's theory was guaranteed almost unanimous opposition. Still, the label, "Broad Church", which came to be applied to Anglican liberals, was at least partially earned by Arnold's theory.<sup>5</sup>

(a) The "Broad" or Comprehensive Church

In Arnold's day, there were "High" and "Low" Churchmen, and religious people who were not very much concerned about the organized church. Arnold's churchmanship was a mixture of "high", "low", and indifferent, with an emphasis upon the comprehensiveness of the ideal Church.

Because he believed that the grace of God is freely available through the Holy Spirit, Arnold rejected the idea of the Church as the channel through which it must flow. Instead, the Church to him was the unlimited body of grateful recipients of God's grace. It was the society of Christians who have relations with one another, but stand in a higher relation to Christ--the society formed to communicate, maintain, and enforce the knowledge of God and of Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.<sup>6</sup> There could have been Christianity without a Church, but Christ did not so ordain.

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5. see below, p.126

6. "The state of union with one another and with Christ, or feeling ourselves to be, in St. Paul's words, the body of Christ and severally members one of another, is the perfection of the Christian life; it is that perfect communion of which the outward sign is the act of Communion at the Lord's table." --IS, p.304. (see also DL1, p.309; IS, p.408)

"His people were not only to be good men,.. but they were to be the Christian Church, helping one another in things pertaining to God, and making their brotherhood to one another an essential part of what are called peculiarly their acts of religion."<sup>7</sup>

The work of the Church, according to Arnold, is to influence the masses of men. It has a two-fold movement, extensive and intensive, just as doctrinally it possesses both a law and a gospel. Intensively, it works upon the inner life to deepen and purify Christianity in the individual.<sup>8</sup> Extensively, it works for the expansion of Christianity.<sup>9</sup> Now the full extent of this outward movement requires the Church to act in all realms of life. Those who say, "this act is political and not religious," limit the Church's action too much. Granted that Christianity has not laid down any party political program, still the Church has to act in the realm of politics. (Arnold used the term "politics" in its broad, Aristotelian sense).

Christianity has a phase that applies to the individual only, but the Church is necessarily social.<sup>10</sup> Instead of such a Church, we have all too often had mere societies for religious edification, or instruction, or ritual.<sup>11</sup> We have limited the Church too much by making it an instrument of purely individual Christianity.

We have also limited the Church too much by confusing it, in Arnold's estimation, with the clergy. The Church is much

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7. CL1, p.325

8. Church, p.4

9. cf. Church, p.147: "The Church is the society to put down moral evil."

10. "Christianity contains... a divine philosophy, which we may call its religion, and a divine polity, which is its Church." (Church, p.5)

11. ibid., p.153

more than an association of clergymen. It is the society of which all Christians are active and useful members, as described in the twelfth chapter of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians.

Arnold, as we have seen, conceived of the Church as a universal society of Christians, divinely instituted, for the purpose of mutual expression of religious affections.<sup>12</sup> He felt that the worship of the Church should reflect its high origin and practical purpose. The ancient Church continued daily in prayer and praise, and in Communion, toward the end that their love to Christ and to one another might be increased. "More frequent Church services, more frequent Communions, would.. be a real imitation of the primitive Church and not merely a fond or formal one."<sup>13</sup>

The sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion had an important place in Arnold's lofty yet practical theory of Church worship. He recognized them as means of grace,<sup>14</sup> but not as opera operata, compelling God's grace. His protestant doctrine of justification would not allow any concept of sacraments as effective in themselves without faith on the part of the worshiper. He did not subscribe to Baptismal regeneration, as did the Anglo-catholics. Instead, he pointed out that every repetition of the baptismal vows in Church would recall to each worshiper the vows he had made, and so would help him.<sup>15</sup>

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12. IS, p.347

13. ibid., p.249

14. v.II, p.32

15. CL2, p.120

Similarly with the Sacrament of Holy Communion. It is no mere ceremony, nor a magic charm, but its great use is "supplying food for our best affections; by so cleaving us from evil and so disposing us to good, that our hearts may be rendered fitter to receive the gift of Christ's Spirit, and so be quickened forever."<sup>16</sup>

To Arnold, the whole worship of the Church should be in the same spirit as the administration of the sacraments. Every act of worship should dispose our affections toward Christ. The creeds have their place as hymns of thanksgiving, not as tests of membership.<sup>17</sup> Every liturgy, rich or poor, is in order if it is meaningful--i.e., if it helps the worshiper in his Christian life. Arnold could and did say that the Church helps worshipers to find the grace of God, but he abhorred any tendency to think of the Church as a well-oiled machine for dispensing grace through the sacraments.

Arnold's churchmanship did not leave any room for the concept of an exclusive or authoritative church. His support of episcopacy was based solely upon ground of efficiency in church government. He was violently opposed to authoritarianism in religion, which he denounced as "priestcraft" and "popery."<sup>18</sup>

Because the Church of England in Arnold's day was far removed from the ideal to which he thought it ought to conform,

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16. v.III, p.72

17. ibid., sermon XXIV

18. see the Introduction to CL1, pp.13-57



Arnold put forth many proposals for Church reform.<sup>19</sup> He summarized his ideas for the reform of the Church of England in a six-point program for a more efficient and popular National Church:<sup>20</sup>

- 1) Reduce the size of dioceses
- 2) Set up bishop's councils, with lay members
- 3) Hold diocesan general assemblies
- 4) Admit ministers who are too poor for University education, and who already preach outside the Church of England
- 5) Allow the election of ministers to parishes
- 6) Establish certain lay officers in the Church (e.g., revive the order of deacons)

Arnold knew that many of the would-be reformers of the Church of England were really interested in destroying its power when they advocated such measures as redistribution of its income and property, and taking away the tithe. However, the reforms that he advocated were not intended to destroy the power of the Church, but to correct abuses of that power. Elimination of abuses, Arnold felt, was the necessary first step in realizing his great dream--the union of dissenting church groups with the Church of England in one great National Christian Fellowship, with diverse liturgical practices.<sup>21</sup>

"Since disunion is something so contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and difference of opinion a thing so inevitable to human nature, might it not be possible to escape the former without the folly of attempting the latter; to constitute a Church thoroughly national, thoroughly united, thoroughly Christian, which should allow great varieties of opinion, and of ceremonies,

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19. see above, p.48f

20. Misc., p.297f

21. ibid., p.225

and forms of worship, according to the various knowledge and habits, and tempers of its members, while it truly held one common faith, and trusted one common Savior, and worshiped one common God."<sup>22</sup>

Christ, said Arnold, is willing to receive all who will call him Master.<sup>23</sup> There is room within the Church for individual differences. "St. Paul was earnest that schisms be ended.. by all parties remembering that whatever became of the truth or falsehood of their own particular views of Christianity, yet Christianity according to any of their views was the one great thing which was their glory and their salvation."<sup>24</sup>

To achieve a unity of Christian fellowship within the Church of England, Arnold advocated a revision of Anglican doctrinal standards. The Quakers would be more willing to unite in an inclusive Church if the assertion of the lawfulness of war and of oaths were expunged from the Articles of the Church of England. Even many of the Roman Catholics and Unitarians might be included in a National Church which allowed broad differences in liturgy and required agreement upon only the essentials of doctrine. And, in any case, Arnold argued that the Presbyterians, Methodists, Independents, Baptists, and Moravians were already in what he called "substantial agreement" with the major doctrinal points of the Church of England.<sup>25</sup>

Under Arnold's plan, the existing Church of England liturgy, with perhaps a few alterations, would be used once

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22. Misc., p.279  
 23. v.III, sermon XX  
 24. CL1, p.69  
 25. Misc., p.281

on Sundays and on Christian holidays in every parish. Variety would be obtained by holding additional services after the one making use of the Anglican liturgy, later on Sundays, or during the week.<sup>26</sup>

For administrative efficiency, dioceses would be divided into workable units, and bishops given a free hand in organizing them. (The division of England into dioceses had not been flexible enough to cope with the tremendous growth of industrial cities in the early 1800's). In many cases, a new bishopric could be supported from the revenues of the principal church in the largest town in the new diocese, which would then become the cathedral church. Additional assistant ministers could be supported by voluntary contributions. Income from the over-endowed rural deaneries could be used to supplement the income of poor urban dioceses where the Church needed to undertake much work.

The very comprehensiveness of Arnold's ideas frightened his critics. They were afraid that he would make the Church both broad and shallow, and admit harmful elements. While some of the reforms he urged were finally adopted, his idea of church union was rejected and scoffed at by his contemporaries. Arnold himself continued to plead earnestly for it. Christ died, he said, "to purchase to himself his universal Church."<sup>27</sup> He lamented bitterly that this purpose of Christ's death had not

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26. Misc., p.304

27. CL1, p.239; see above, p.40 footnote.

been fulfilled. Instead, he saw the Church scattered and in ruins. "O that God's scattered and divided children would join together in one earnest prayer: O Lord, build thou the walls of Jerusalem! O Lord, build! O Lord build! O Lord build!"<sup>28</sup>

(b) The State as a Moral Person

Just as the Church is no mere aggregation of individuals who participate in certain rites together, so the state is no mere association to promote the common physical ends of well-being and material happiness.<sup>29</sup> Rather, said Arnold, the State is a moral person, possessing sovereign power over the entire lives of the inhabitants of the nation.

Arnold agreed heartily with Gladstone's "moral theory" of the State.<sup>30</sup> Both opposed the utilitarian or secular theory expounded by Warburton, who saw nothing moral in the aims of the State: "Society.. which was at first constituted for the sake of living is carried on for the sake of happy living."<sup>31</sup> Material happiness and not moral goodness was the purpose he took to be behind society's government. According to Arnold, he was mistaken in assuming that "the object of the civil (society) is only the body and its interests; and the

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28. CL1, p.265f

29. Misc., p.466

30. Arnold and Gladstone are commonly called "Erastian"--i.e., advocating supremacy of State over Church--because of this "moral theory." Properly speaking, Arnold's identity theory should not be called "Erastian".

Arnold differed with Gladstone on the nature of the Church. Gladstone distinguished between the functions of Church and State: one forming character, the other regulating conduct.

(see Vidler, The Orb and the Cross, pp.36-45; cf. History, p.50f)

31. Warburton, Alliance, p.9



object of the religious, only the soul."<sup>32</sup>

Arnold defended the moral theory of the State in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Modern History at Oxford. Moral purpose follows from the sovereign power of the State,<sup>33</sup> he said, for "it is something monstrous that the ultimate power in human life should be destitute of a sense of right and wrong."<sup>34</sup> Belief in a good God demands that the sovereign State act for the good of mankind, just as surely as belief in the dependence of government upon the governed demands that it act for the common welfare.

Further, the main object of the sovereign State, according to Arnold, will be the highest object of the individuals who compose it--not their least common denominator. For History, which is a sort of collective biography of States, assumes that each State has an inner character expressed by the outward actions of its governing powers. This inner character of a State is derived from the character of the individuals who compose it--not simply from their desire for self-preservation. The supreme purpose of the State must be moral, because the supreme aim of its citizens is the good life.

Since Church and State have the same moral purpose, reasoned Arnold, they should recognize their essential identity. Only Christians should have full citizenship rights; civil officials should recognize that theirs is a divine calling.

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32. see Church, Appendix II, pp.167-175.

33. Church, p.170: "A State has no earthly superior; its essence

34. History, p.11 is power."

When, as in Victorian England, the people of a country are Christians and at the same time are politically sovereign,<sup>35</sup> they actually have a Christian society with a measure of control over the lives of members and a concern for their moral good--which is, in fact, a rudimentary sort of church. The government will naturally provide, by law, for the functions of a church; without attempting to coerce anyone's beliefs, it should establish norms of action in religious matters (e.g., providing material facilities and a form of worship). This rudimentary expression of the essential identity of Church and State was, thought Arnold, what was intended by the establishment of the Church of England.

(c) The Principle of Establishment

While most of the opposition to the Church of England in the 1830's had been aroused by obvious abuses of the power of the Church, there were some, Arnold recognized, who opposed Establishment in principle. One ground of their opposition was "priestcraft." They argued that an Established Church naturally leads to an unhealthy control of ecclesiastical affairs by a hierarchy of clergy. Arnold countered that priestcraft was not necessary to Establishment. In fact, he said, Establishment might be an effective safeguard against priestcraft, because the form of Church government would tend to conform to the political government.<sup>36</sup> More democratic political government would thus make Church government more democratic.

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35. Misc., p.450

36. ibid., p.504

The kind of government for the reformed Church of England would, Arnold admitted, be difficult to agree upon. He argued for a kind of episcopacy<sup>36½</sup> which would parallel the national political structure, and social structure, too. All ranks and classes of people, he said, needed to have their own share in the administration and official ministry of the Church.

The Church needed bishops from the ruling classes, to Arnold's way of thinking, and ministers from richer and poorer classes alike. Above all, it needed a form of government in which the laity had a larger share. If the laity participated more in the government of the Church, the ministers and bishops could be given more authority without fear of priestcraft or tyranny. Bishops should have councils with laymen serving on them, and it might be well to have some sort of a general assembly in each diocese of the Church. Arnold felt that such a system would satisfy the dissenters, whose real objection was not so much to episcopacy as to a prelatical, autocratic church government.

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36½. Misc., p.288f

Arnold was by no means alone in his support of the principle of Establishment. Even Warburton advocated a form of recognition for the Church by the State. He suggested an "alliance" for mutual help and support, on the analogy of a treaty between nations. Gladstone used a more suggestive analogy; he spoke of the "marriage" of Church and State.<sup>37</sup> Arnold went beyond Gladstone as Gladstone had gone beyond Warburton. He spoke of the "identity" of Church and State; he admitted no kind of separateness, except in the provision of civil officers other than clergyman for the Church-State. All three theories--"alliance", "marriage," "identity"--and any variation or combination of them, made use of the principle of a recognized, Established Church.

Arnold held both the necessity and the expediency of a Church Establishment. The State is morally bound to recognize the truth of Christianity, and to disseminate Christian principles in educating its citizens. This can be done best, said Arnold, only through the medium of a privileged Church, using public property set aside for such purposes.<sup>38</sup> He claimed that history demonstrated the moral efficiency of an Established Church. In all Christian societies where moral betterment has been effected with surety, there was some preferred religious organization comparable to an Established Church. The only possible exception to this rule was in the (then)

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37. Vidler, op.cit., p.94

38. Misc., p.449f



new and growing country of the United States of America. Even there, Arnold felt it was doubtful that there was real moral growth except in the sections of the country where there was a near-establishment.<sup>39</sup>

If an Established Church is both theoretically necessary and practically helpful, what should then be done with those who remain outside it? Should an Inquisition be set up to stamp out error? No, said Arnold. The Christian society must practice tolerance. The only way to deal with error is to convert it to the truth; the only way to deal with dissent is to bring it into the Established Church. To extinguish dissent by persecution is both wicked and impossible.<sup>40</sup> Since dissent militates against the effectiveness of Establishment, it should be eliminated as much as possible by eliminating its causes. Until the causes of dissent can be eliminated, the dissenters should be given full privileges as citizens and their religious claims tolerated.

It was Arnold's strong sense of fair play that prevented him from going to the ~~logical~~ extreme of saying, "error has no rights." While he felt certain that dissent was a great evil, he was equally sure that lack of tolerance was fully as great an evil. Christianity demands a positive, rather than a negative, treatment of opponents. Therefore, his mind sought for ways of including dissenters within the

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39. Misc., pp.270,312

40. Ibid., p.259

Church Establishment, rather than legislating them out of existence. You can require a man to subscribe to a certain code of practice, but you can never make him believe what is not convincing to him.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, it is unjust to require dissenters to subscribe to statements of belief upon the pain of harsh penalty. "It is a want of faith in God and an unbly zeal to think that he can be served by injustice, or to guard against contingent evil by committing certain sin."<sup>42</sup>

This strong sense of Christian fair play led Arnold to favor the Catholic Emancipation Act when most of the squires and clergy were squarely opposed to it. His forceful pamphlet, "The Christian Duty of Conceding the Roman Catholic Claims," (1829) was directed mainly to his fellow-clergy. While admitting that residence in a State does not in itself entitle one to citizenship,<sup>43</sup> he pointed out that there was a progressive tendency since the coming of Christianity to extend citizenship rights as widely as possible.<sup>44</sup> On moral grounds, the Irish Catholics had every right to full citizenship,<sup>45</sup> he said, including the right to sit in Parliament and to attend the national Universities. Furthermore, Catholic emancipation would very likely benefit Christianity by tending to purify Irish Catholicism. Justice

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<sup>41</sup>. History, p.39

<sup>42</sup>. Misc., p. 6; Note also this slant of Arnold's on tolerance: The Christian has to steer between the Scylla of indifference and the Charybdis of persecution and intolerance. He can do this only by listening carefully to the guidance of God.

<sup>43</sup>. Arnold himself would not admit non-Christians (e.g., Jews and atheists) to full citizenship. (see above, p.53) see Life, ii.39; also Preface to Thucydides.

<sup>44</sup>. Misc., p.11

<sup>45</sup>. ibid., p.68

must be done, even if it seems superficially to harm the Established Church.

Arnold thus pointed toward a positive handling of the problem of religious truth and tolerance. He did not say, "We are forced to tolerate Roman Catholicism because of the Irish political situation," but "We should grant Catholic emancipation because it is morally right." Ideally, he felt, the national society should be a Church-State; the first step to attain the ideal was to maintain an Established Church, and abolish dissent. Since it would be morally wicked to deal with dissent negatively by suppression, the Establishment should be made comprehensive enough to include the dissenters. He was quite willing to establish the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and even the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. To him, the real basis of Christian unity lay in common action and not in a common creed. The national Christian society should recognize the truth of the Christian revelation by maintaining an Established Church whose membership was synonymous with citizenship; but it should tolerate varying interpretations of the Christian revelation by making the Established Church comprehend the vast majority of Christians in the country.

(d) Objections

Arnold anticipated that three objections would be raised to his theory of the identity of Church and State, with an Establishment comprehending all differences of Christian

belief: (1) the danger of autocratic rule by either priest or king; (2) the impracticability of the proposal; (3) its ultra-inclusiveness. He attempted to meet these objections, though his answers left objectors unconvinced. Mostly, his answers boil down to a summary of his theory, plus the admonition to "try it and see."

(1) While some object to the "identity" theory on the grounds that it would lead to autocratic rule over the Church by a king, others object that it would lead to domination of the State by a hierarchical priesthood. As a matter of fact, both kinds of domination have occurred in history, but always when there were rival civil and religious powers who failed to understand the true identity of civil and religious societies. Under the "identity" theory, any autocracy would rule over Church and State jointly. It would not be a matter of the submission of Church to State, or vice versa, but a combination of the supreme government of both in one person.

Christians have made the relations between Church and State unnecessarily complicated by assuming that each must have separate governments with a priest at the head of one and a king at the head of the other, ruling sometimes over the same and sometimes over different geographical areas. Ideally, one supreme power would direct and control both the inferior civil and inferior religious powers<sup>46</sup> in a single

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46. Misc., pp.334ff



unit of society. By God's providence, the nation has been shown to be the most workable social unit for religious, as well as for civil, government. There is no divine right of papacy to rule over all Christendom--the New Testament disclaims any earthly priesthood--nor is there divine sanction for the atomistic sovereignty which permits the society of one local congregation to be a law unto itself.<sup>47</sup>

(2) It may be immediately impracticable to comprehend all religious groups into a single national religious society. Yet that certainly ought to be the ultimate goal, and many steps toward the goal could be taken immediately. The great mass of dissenters would probably reenter the Established Church if abuses were corrected and the door thrown open to them.<sup>48</sup> Probably the Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and Quakers would elect to remain outside of the national religious society--but they would be in a small minority, and they, too, might come in eventually.

(3) The early Church was certainly inclusive. We know from Paul's letters that there were many kinds of Christians--and Christian practices, both good and bad, at Corinth.<sup>49</sup> True, the ideal National Church must maintain firm Christian principles if it is to be a Christian society, but it can be both Christian and inclusive. Many of the Articles of Faith

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47. Misc., p.474

48. ibid., p.323

49. ibid., p.469

of the Church of England may need to be broadened; certainly no Christian should be forced to subscribe to any statement he cannot conscientiously believe. A Church which tries to maintain too rigid a standard for membership will always exclude some Christians who ought to be within its fellowship, for human judgments and standards are all too fallible.<sup>50</sup>

Objectors to Arnold's theory were not satisfied with these answers; they saw many grave difficulties. Some of the difficulties were inherent in the scheme itself, and some were in the mind of the age. The first to present itself was the obvious difficulty of Church union. Arnold was a lone figure, a "voice crying in the wilderness" for United Christianity. He underestimated the stubborn persistence of the divisions between Christian denominations. Perhaps a genuine effort at reconciliation was never made; the Church of England never opened the door as wide as he wished. At any rate, dissenting Church groups continued to grow and prosper outside of the Established Church.

Arnold failed to see the objection to his scheme which made it utterly repugnant to Anglo-Catholic theologians. There was real justification for their fear that Parliament would undermine the Church. By identifying the Church with the State it would necessarily follow that, as developing political theory more and more placed the basis of the State's authority in its service to humanity, the authority of the Church would  
similarly

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50. Misc., p.488f

tend to pull away from its divine institution and rootage.

Perhaps the most deadly blow of all to Arnold's scheme was the rejection of the "moral" idea of the State by Victorian England. Macauley ridiculed Gladstone's exposition of the "moral" idea as showing "what a man can do to be left behind by the world."<sup>51</sup> Doctrinaire individualism and "laissez-faire" politics had no place for a "moral" State; progress seemed to lie with State non-interference. Even zealous religious evangelists thought that the State had done enough if it secured satisfactory material conditions within which the Church could work. The Whigs in Parliament reflected the mind of the age in their readiness to reform the Church of England so as to correct abuses of its power; and in their reluctance to promote, as a governing power, any positive program of Christian action.

A distrust of centralized power grew up along with "laissez-faire" politics and economics, culminating in Lord Acton's famous saying: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." While Arnold defended his scheme against the objection that it would lead to autocratic rule of State over Church or vice versa, he had to admit the possibility of autocracy of the two jointly. The danger to individual liberty inherent in the concentration of power proved a major difficulty to the acceptance of his scheme.

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51. Vidler, op.cit., p.52

Another difficulty with Arnold's theory lay in his easy equating of the government with the national society. The term "State" is used in two different meanings, sometimes referring to the governmental organization, and sometimes to the people governed. Arnold insisted that the clergy was not the whole Church; he should have been equally clear that the government is not the whole of the State, and that the government's functions may be limited by the express wish of the people. Such a limitation of governmental functions, extending to matters of religion, did take place in Victorian England.

Arnold's theory was superficially the same as that of the Middle Ages. There, as he had pointed out, the one Christian society had two sets of governing powers, civil and religious, often competing with each other. He thought that the conflict was due to misunderstanding, and advocated subordination of both civil and religious powers in one supreme head. But he was unduly optimistic about resolving the Church-State conflict so easily. The roots of conflict lie within each individual, who is both citizen and churchman.<sup>52</sup> No form of ecclesiastical or political government can remove the tension between justice and love, the material and the spiritual, the natural community and the Communion of Saints; and out of tensions like these the Church-State conflict is born.

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52. see William Temple, Citizen and Churchman, passim.



It is easy to pick flaws in Arnold's scheme at the distance of over a century. It is not so easy to appreciate, at this distance of time, that the scheme might quite possibly have been put into practice. Full citizenship and Church membership were much more nearly synonymous then than now. The intervening years have seen an increased separation between Church and State, concomitant with a predominantly utilitarian political philosophy. Now that political philosophy has taken a turn toward collectivism and greater State control, the problem of Church-State relations is being re-thought. Arnold's ideas of the functions of Church and State and the relationship between them might well receive more careful study today than they did a century ago.

#### V. ARNOLD'S THEORY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

"He is perfectly educated who is taught all the will of God concerning him, and enabled, through life, to execute it. And he is not well educated who does not know the will of God, or knowing it, has received no help in his education toward being inclined and enabled to do it."

--Thomas Arnold<sup>1</sup>

The basic premise of all of Arnold's preaching and writing about Christian education, and of all of his work at Rugby, was this: all education should be Christian education. It is not surprising to find such a premise from one who constantly

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1. v.III, p.178

strove to avoid the cleavage between sacred and secular, and who developed the theory of "identity" of Church and State, as an expression of this desire for the integration of the whole of life. There ought to be no separation made between religious training and formal education.

Arnold's sermons dealing with Christian education pointed out that the growth of a child into adulthood requires not simply gaining knowledge, but gaining wisdom. It necessarily involves moral and religious considerations "for wisdom, to speak properly, is to us nothing else than the true answer to the Philippian jailor's question, 'What must I do to be saved?'"<sup>2</sup> When a boy becomes a man, said Arnold, he must put away such childish characteristics as selfishness, ignorance, and living only for the present.<sup>3</sup> He must grow morally and religiously. Arnold himself devoted the greater part of his life to helping boys grow morally, fighting the battle for Christian manhood.

Arnold was anxious to hasten moral growth. Sometimes his pupils seemed old before their time. But he defended haste in the attainment of manhood. That is a different matter, said he, from "premature book-study" or "injurious over-study." he wanted to win the strategic initial skirmishes in the battle against evil. He saw the peculiar temptations of boys, and the general inclination of mankind to do evil.<sup>4</sup> In his Rugby

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2. CL1, p.26

3. ibid., p.14

4. ibid., p.49; CL2, sermon XIII; see above, p.36f

Chapel sermons, Arnold tried to lessen the temptation to evil and heighten the challenge to good. The peculiar trials of youth are good preparation for the trials of life, he said.<sup>5</sup> Youth has privileges of time, health, and strength in greater measure than does maturity. Young people can use them to be rich toward God.<sup>6</sup>

But Arnold was a schoolmaster as well as a preacher. He knew that education is not merely a matter of moral growth and religious training. The best way to gain a true education is not to study the Bible or Theology exclusively, said he. Heaven forbid the latter! Rather, the student should strive to see the will of God as it works out in the general history and literature he studies. It is a mistake to separate out one course of study from all the rest, labeling it "Bible" or "Religious Education", and then to feel that such a course constitutes a Christian Education.

Arnold himself taught the Bible and History to the Sixth Form at Rugby. He made the Bible live for his students as it had never done before, and he always managed to illustrate divine truths with the history lessons.

He believed thoroughly in the educational value of the Classics. Certainly his theory of Christian education through general history and literature is much easier to put into

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5. v.III, p.243

6. CL2, p.102

practice in a school where Classics are stressed than in a scientific or technical training school. Scientific and technical training simply would not constitute an education, to Arnold's way of thinking.

Arnold defended the ancient Greeks and Romans as being really contemporary in the problems they wrote about, and having a more advantageous viewpoint than modern writers.<sup>7</sup> He pointed out the value of translating ancient authors, although he deplored its actual degeneration into mere construing and painful word-for-word rendering by schoolboys. A foundation of classical learning, combined with modern literature and history, is what he would call a truly liberal education. Such an education teaches boys to think, rather than simply filling them up with useful information.<sup>8</sup>

"It is no wisdom to make boys prodigies of information; but it is our wisdom and our duty to cultivate their faculties each in its season, first the memory and imagination, and then the judgment; to furnish them with the means, and to excite the desire, of improving themselves, and to wait with confidence for God's blessing on the result."<sup>9</sup>

Christianity ought to be woven into the very fibre of our educational system, said Arnold. This means that not only the studies of the school should include God and his dealings with men, but that the extra-curricular life of the school

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7. Misc., p.349  
 8. ibid., p.356  
 9. ibid., p.360



should also provide a Christian training. It was in this realm of extra-curricular school life that Arnold's influence was particularly notable.<sup>10</sup>

It was quite impossible for the masters of a boarding school to force the boys to behave like Christian gentlemen when the boys lived in a society all their own and regarded the masters as their natural enemies. Arnold's solution of the problem was to put the responsibility for discipline, together with a certain amount of authority, into the hands of the older boys--the Sixth Form.<sup>11</sup> Getting the boys themselves to set up and enforce a code of high moral conduct was practical Christian training, remembered long after they had forgotten how to translate the Greek New Testament. The secret of Arnold's success lay in such practical Christian training for the boys.

The rituals and worship services of religion can also be made very effective educational instruments.<sup>12</sup> Arnold never underestimated them. He took over the preaching in Rugby Chapel himself, and conducted worship in a very impressive way, in order that he might thereby establish a Christian tone for school life at Rugby.

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10. see below, p.181

11. Misc., pp.371ff

12. History, p.17

Rugby School was both a source of and proving ground for Arnold's theory of Christian education. Rugby helped him form an ideal for the Christian school, and gave him a realistic estimate of sin to be overcome before attaining the ideal.<sup>13</sup> The great function of the Christian school, said Arnold, is teaching the application of God's will in all realms of life.<sup>14</sup> The ideal school is a "temple of God," whose members work together to make it worthy.<sup>15</sup> Whether the actual school becomes the ideal "house of prayer" or a "den of thieves" instead, depends upon the influence of individual boys. At worst, said Arnold, the boys profane the school with such evils as these:

sensual wickedness, e.g., drunkenness;  
 systematic practice of falsehood;  
 systematic annoyance of the weak and simple;  
 a spirit of active disobedience;  
 a general idleness;  
 a spirit of corporate wickedness, i.e., a fellowship in evil.<sup>16</sup>

In Rugby, Arnold saw a certain tendency toward each of the above evils. He was most alarmed by the tendency toward a fellowship in evil. Boys tended to form comradeships in opposition to their masters, and in mutual protection upon the lowest common moral level. Comradeship in itself is good, said Arnold, but if it remains narrow, exclusive, and on the lowest common level,

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13. see above, p.36

14. v.III, p.184f

15. CL2, p.55

16. ibid., p.66

it is bad. To make it good, boys must bear in mind their larger fellowship with their masters and with all of God's saints. God approves of good comradeship: "...He knows that the mind's and soul's growth never expands so healthfully as in the society of equals; that no example of good is half so striking as that given by one whose temptations and whose strength are altogether the same as our own. God's blessing is on friendship, and the perfection of friendship exists most readily between those of equal years and similar circumstances.<sup>17</sup>

Arnold never succeeded--nor expected to succeed--in making Rugby a perfectly ideal Christian school. But he fought the evil tendencies with great effectiveness, and thoroughly imbued his pupils with moral earnestness. His success at Rugby was due to his integration of Christianity into the educational process--in work, in play, and in worship. It was the same effort to integrate Christianity with the whole of life which marked all his social thinking.<sup>18</sup>

More than any other one man, Arnold made the English Public School the type of social force it was in Victorian England. When he came onto the scene in 1828, the schools were generally quite corrupt; Arnold insisted that they must be reformed to turn out Christian gentlemen.<sup>19</sup>

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17. CL2, p.83

18. see above, p.61

19. see Fitch, T. & M. Arnold; Whitridge, Dr. Arnold of Rugby; Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion; also cf. below, p.182ff.

## VI. ARNOLD'S THEORY OF SCRIPTURE INTERPRETATION

"It is the privilege of the full-grown Christian  
to search out the deep things of God himself."  
--Coleridge

Most of Arnold's religious thinking stemmed from the basic convictions discussed in Chapter III above, relating to the integration and practice of Christianity in all of life. His proposals for reform, his theory of Church and State, and his program of Christian education all arose from this demand for Christian outreach and integration. There is, however, yet another factor to be taken into account in discussing Arnold's work on the interpretation of the Scriptures. It was made possible by careful historical and critical scholarship.

### (a) Historicity and Inspiration of the Scriptures.

History was Arnold's special field of research. The Oxford chair to which he was appointed in the last year of his life, and which he valued highly, was a professorship in Modern History. This is not the place to evaluate Arnold as a historian. Suffice it to say that he regarded his translation of Thucydides and his History of Rome as his major literary accomplishments. It was only the pressure of the distress of the times that side-tracked him into writing on reform; the current of theological controversy led him to write against the Oxford Movement in Church reform and



made him anxious to work out his projects of a "Christian Politics" and Bible commentaries.

Arnold was indebted to his English schoolboy training in the Classics, and to German critical scholarship, for his method of historical and critical research. At Winchester, he was subjected to the usual disciplines of Greek and Latin, and despite the drudgery of the way they were taught, he learned to like and to appreciate the Greek historians and tragedians. In his student days at Oxford, he showed a marked taste for Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> As headmaster of Rugby, he naturally kept up his study of the Classics for teaching purposes.

Arnold was introduced to German criticism by Niebuhr's History of Rome. When the value of this work was pointed out to him by J.C. Hare, he learned the German language to read it.<sup>2</sup> He became enthusiastic about Niebuhr's work, and consequently relied heavily upon it in his own three volume History of Rome in English. Their common work and interests led him to seek Niebuhr's acquaintance through C.C.J. Bunsen, who was Prussian minister at Rome in 1827, and later in England; Bunsen became one of Arnold's intimate friends.

In the preface to his History of Rome, Arnold expressed his indebtedness to Niebuhr. In his preface to Thucydides,<sup>3</sup> he showed the use of German scholarship to help prepare that

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1. Life, i.30

2. ibid., i.53; for Hare, see below, pp. 113, 170

3. Misc., p.384

work also. He had learned to discriminate historical from legendary material when both occur in the same narrative. He recognized that even the most reliable of ancient authors mixed some fancy with fact--some chaff with the wheat.<sup>4</sup> It is quite wrong to assume that the whole thing is historical, and equally wrong to call it all mythical. In addition to the general reliability of the author, his information on the point in question needs to be checked. Even "the ablest men may entertain erroneous opinions on points which nothing has led them to examine particularly."<sup>5</sup> Both internal and external evidence need to be collected to determine the historicity of a given passage.

Arnold thus paid tribute to the methods of modern critical historical research in his preface to Thucydides. Unfortunately, he never wrote the historical and philological appendices to the translation as he had planned--partly because of the press of other occupations, and partly because of the coming changes in the world of Greek scholarship. While reading Niebuhr and Müller had made him more skeptical, Arnold still felt that Thucydides was, on the whole, a trustworthy historian. The heroes (e.g., Deucalion, Hellen, Pelops, Eumolpus) may not have been real people, and there may not have been an individual Homer, but, he concluded, Thucydides reported the early history of Greece with reasonable accuracy. He followed Niebuhr quite

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4. Misc., p.386

5. ibid., p.387

closely to determine the historicity of the various ancient Roman records.

Arnold was aware of the religious dangers to which German criticism and rationalism could lead. He saw that ultra-rationalism, as exemplified in Germany, had tended toward the break-down of positive belief in the traditional creeds of Christianity.<sup>6</sup> Yet the careful scholarship of the Germans was to be admired, and followed. Their seeming irreverence and coldness was due, he felt, to their lack of Christian intercourse with their fellow-men;<sup>7</sup> it is not necessarily involved in painstaking research into the Scriptures.

Arnold himself was never in danger of making the mistake for which he criticized the Germans. He was much too warmly devoted to Scripture to treat it coldly and irreverently; he was much too close to humanity to look upon it detachedly and disinterestedly. But he decided to study the Biblical records critically, just as he would the ancient Greek and Latin sources for his Thucydides and his History of Rome. Thus he was led to make a basic distinction between history and prophecy in the Scriptures. History, he said, was concerned with concrete facts, and prophecy with the general principles of God's revelation.<sup>8</sup>

The historicity of the Biblical records was only a

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6. Misc., p.319

7. v.II, p.424

8. v.I, p.376

prelude to the wider problem of the authority of the Scriptures. Arnold chose his words carefully in discussing this problem. He asserted that objections could be raised only to the "in-spiration"<sup>9</sup> of the historical records, and not to the general truth of the revelation they contain.<sup>10</sup> He pointed out that sometimes a book in the Bible is objected to as not genuine because it has been ascribed to the wrong author, e.g., the last six chapters of Zechariah. The book's authenticity seems to be impeached, but in reality, it is the readers or editors who have made the mistake.<sup>11</sup> Even when a Biblical author has made a mistake or a pious fraud in one place, it does not destroy the authority or validity of what he says elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> For example, even if the claim of Moses to have received the Law written on stone tablets by the finger of God were proved to be a pious fraud, Moses is not thereby disqualified from speaking authoritatively to the Children of Israel. Careful study of the background and meaning of particular passages will reveal minor discrepancies, but will substantiate the authority and general truth of the Biblical revelation.

(b) Understanding the Scriptural Revelation

Arnold was enough of an orthodox Christian to give God's Word primacy over reason and experience. To him, the revelation

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9. Note that "inspiration" as used by Arnold is narrow in its meaning, referring to a sort of dictation by God to the Biblical authors. "Revelation", "authority", and "truth" are not dependent upon such "inspiration."

10. v.II, p.417

11. ibid., p.421

12. ibid., p.416



of God contained in the Scriptures was a necessary supplement to correct reason and experience. While he was willing to apply the canons of historical criticism to the Bible, he insisted that criticism would affect only minor details, and would not alter the truths of God revealed in the Biblical records. Without these divine scriptural truths, men would fall into grievous error. Following their natural tendencies, men would worship creatures, and not turn to God nor to Christ.<sup>12A</sup> The great truths of Christianity--the "Christian mysteries" which are the "pillar and ground of truth" and are "full of salvation"--are made known to men by the Bible, and so the Bible is infinitely precious.<sup>12B</sup>

The priceless assistance of Biblical revelation, said Arnold, is just like any other valuable possession in life in that it is hard to obtain. It requires effort; it is not automatic. You cannot simply open the Bible and find needed comfort and direction in whatever happens to meet the eye.<sup>12C</sup> Christian revelation is not irresistible and overpowering. It must be sought after. In a sense, God is both hidden and openly available to every man. To be openly available, God requires that man respond to him in Christ. Scripture puts the necessity of man's response paradoxically: "They shall call upon me, but I will not answer," says Proverbs. "Seek, and ye shall find," says Christ.<sup>12D</sup>

Men's efforts to understand the Bible rightly form an important part of their response to God's revelation, said Arnold.

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12A. IS, p.6, 425f  
 12B. v.II, p.299, 101  
 12C. IS, p.275  
 12D. CL1, sermon XII

He realized that men often misinterpret Scripture, making it agree with their own opinions, or with the pronouncements of an authoritative church. In so doing, they are making something other than God's Word the real authority.<sup>12E</sup> Yes, there is danger in allowing individuals to interpret the Bible for themselves. But there is even more danger in an authoritative interpretation of the Bible by the Church. The only way to understand the Bible and interpret it rightly is to study it carefully, and to live within the Christian faith. The individual must speak and act according to his inward conviction of God's will, even when the rest of the world says the opposite.<sup>12F</sup> The ultimate interpreter of the Bible is the Holy Spirit speaking through men's consciences.

Bible study and Christian living were Arnold's two major avenues of approach to God. As he became more involved in controversy with the Tractarians, Arnold felt more and more the importance of the Bible. He projected a series of Bible commentaries, which were left to his followers to inaugurate.<sup>12G</sup> He set down in various writings his own method of interpreting the Bible, and preached many sermons in Rugby Chapel to illustrate it.

(c) Principles of Interpretation

Arnold classified the Scriptures into four general divisions, for purposes of interpretation:<sup>12H</sup> (1) the Gospels, which give the example of the life of Christ and the treasures

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12E. CL1, p.404f  
 12F. ibid., pp.350ff  
 12G. see below, p.172  
 12H. IS, sermon VIII

of Christ's words of wisdom and guidance. (2) the Epistles, which declare truths about Christ, and encouraged the early Church in Christian living. (3) the Prophets, giving warnings to men, who must walk by faith and not by sight. (4) the Historical Books, which can be further subdivided into five types of writings--(a) records of men's acts toward God and toward each other; (b) records of the acts of God; (c) the Law which God gave to Israel; (d) the lives of people under God's command; (e) general history. Each unit of Scripture must be understood for what it is, and interpreted accordingly.

Arnold was concerned that educated young men should read their Bibles with understanding and conviction, rather than with skepticism or disbelief.<sup>13</sup> To this end, he laid down some general principles of interpretation, which would help them understand the difficult passages.

First, the Bible was not written all at once.<sup>14</sup> Unlike the Koran, the Christian Bible was written by many different authors, who lived centuries apart. As a result, many of the commands of God given in it are particular commands, directed to specific people in specific circumstances. The commandments about sabbath-keeping are such particular commands. They are binding upon the Bible reader only insofar as and as long as his circumstances are similar. Other commands of God carry eternal and universal obligation, and are binding on all men in all times.

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13. v.II, p.377

14. ibid., p.378

Secondly, God, in his dealings with men, accommodated himself to mankind's state. Thus, some of the things once done in the name of God and of religion are shocking to our moral sensibilities today, because of the different state of mankind's morality.<sup>15</sup> In revealing religious knowledge, God began by speaking to us as another man would. Thus the Bible describes him in human terms as "jealous", "wrathful", "merciful", "sitting in heaven", rather than as pure, infinite being. In religious practice, God's commands were, at first, only slightly more elevated than conventional practice. But as mankind has developed, customs have changed, and religious practices have changed too. Parents discipline their children differently in early childhood than in late youth. Just so, God has treated men differently in the childhood of the race than in growing maturity.

This principle of God's accommodation to man's state can be illustrated many times over from Scripture. Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac was pleasing to God then, but similar action today would not be. The second commandment absolutely forbids the use of images in worship, but with the coming of Jesus we have a perfect image through whom to pray to God. There is danger in pressing the principle of accommodation to the extreme, until none of God's commands are recognized as having authority any longer--but the principle is valid, even if its extreme application is not.

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15. v.II, p.383



Then, also, there is a duality in God's actions which seems contradictory at first sight, and yet runs all through the Bible. God hardens the hearts of the wicked and makes them perish in their sins. Yet he is also merciful and saving. "God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live."<sup>16</sup> This duality is shown forth clearly in the cross of Christ, which is central in Christian doctrine. "...there are two things which we can never estimate highly enough; God's abhorrence of sin, on the one hand, and his love for sinners, on the other."<sup>17</sup>

The two greatest specific difficulties of interpretation, according to Arnold, lay in (1) the miracle stories, and in (2) prophecy. Difficulty with the miracle stories may arise either because of a general objection to miracles, or, <sup>because of</sup> particular questions about particular stories. Disbelief in all miracles can only be argued from a priori principles, and not from particular evidence. Now if a man believes at all in God, whom he conceives to be both powerful and concerned for man's welfare, he must at least admit the general possibility of miracles. Otherwise, men's notions of the divine life would be mere guesses, for what is a miracle if not the intervention of the divine among humanity?<sup>18</sup> As regards particular miracles, the only one that is absolutely crucial

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16. v.II, p.403

17. ibid., p.404

18. ibid., p.410

for Christian faith is the resurrection of Jesus Christ,<sup>19</sup> and of this, said Arnold, there is ample evidence. If the evidence for any of the lesser miracles is judged insufficient, it can have no great practical force in discrediting Biblical revelation.<sup>20</sup> The mass of facts of Jewish history, and the general truth of Christianity are amply supported by the weight of evidence. The revelations of God through the Jews, for instance, would still stand "even though all the miracles contained in the book of Exodus could be proved to be exaggerations and inventions."<sup>21</sup> Thus the miracle stories do not present such great difficulties as to make the Bible reader doubt the general truth of what he reads.

Arnold thought that the difficulty with prophecy generally lay in understanding wherein it is fulfilled. Christians since the times of the New Testament have applied Old Testament prophecies to Christ, when the contexts and sound principles of interpretation indicate that "they do not relate to the Messiah or Christian times, but are either the expression of religious affections generally... or else refer to some particular circumstances in the life and condition of the writer, or of the Jewish nation..."<sup>22</sup>

Feeling that the early Christians were at least partly justified in applying such passages to Christ, Arnold was led

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19. v.II, p.408

20. Arnold held that one of four minor results could follow:  
 1) inspiration of a particular portion of Scripture disproved.  
 2) writer held less credible, or writing not his.  
 3) revelation resting upon miracle in question discredited.

to a theory of double meaning of prophecy--that prophecies have a "uniform historical, or lower, and also a spiritual, or higher, sense."<sup>23</sup> Prophecy is "anticipated history", not in a predictive sense, but in another and far higher sense.<sup>24</sup> If the earth were a place of perfect good, rather than of mixed good and evil, the historical and spiritual meanings of prophecy would converge into one. But as it is, the prophecies of evil or good destinies are alike hyperbolical, because the men and nations of whom they are prophesied are neither all evil nor all good. Jesus Christ is the real subject of all prophecy for good.<sup>25</sup> Only to him do the full spiritual meanings apply, for he is the only perfectly good man.

Arnold conveniently summarized his theory of interpretation of prophecy into two main principles, and three corollaries:<sup>26</sup>

#### MAIN PRINCIPLES

I. "All prophecies uttered under an imperfect dispensation have both a literal or human meaning, and a spiritual or divine one." They are not to be understood partly in each meaning, but may be read completely in two different ways--"according to the meaning of the human author, or according to the meaning of the Divine Author."

II. In the perfect dispensation, both meanings are the same.

#### COROLLARIES

1) to find the human meaning, treat Scripture like any other literature.

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4) later revelation asserting truth of disproved miracle also discredited.

21. v.II, p.414

22. v.I, p.367

23. ibid., pp.371, 433

24. ibid., p.395

25. ibid., p.387

26. IS, p.433

- 2) time, place, and person refer to human meaning.
- 3) description of the good or evil to follow is hyperbolical for the human meaning and literal only for the divine meaning of prophecy.

In a group of sermons published as an appendix to his sermons on the Interpretation of Scripture, Arnold went on to illustrate this theory of the double meaning of prophecy.<sup>27</sup> The main part of the same volume shows the way in which he himself interpreted the Bible from the pulpit of Rugby Chapel.

In a sermon on Matthew 26:45,46 (a text he chose because some felt it difficult to understand), Arnold pointed out that "our Lord's language... is commonly parabolical; the worst interpretation we can give it is commonly the literal one."<sup>28</sup> Sometimes we make Scripture teach falsehood by quoting it and understanding it too literally, or by applying to ourselves statements applied by the Biblical writers to people in very different situations.<sup>29</sup>

In his sermon on Phinehas<sup>30</sup> Arnold dealt with stories of religious zeal. Sometimes the expression of such zeal as recorded in the Bible is in a wicked form (e.g., in Numbers 25, and in Luke 16--the parable of the unjust steward). Even then, we can learn from the Biblical story the value of being zealous, and can go on to express our zeal in a more Christian way.

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27. discussion of Psalms 2, 16, 22, 40, and Isaiah 53.

28. CL1, p.383

29. ibid., p.390

30. IS, sermon VII



The sermon on Job<sup>31</sup> described the book of Job as a dialogue in which opposing erroneous views are taken by the principal speakers. At the close, a new character comes in to state the truth. The erroneous view of Job's friends was that they maintained he must have some evil in his heart, or else God would not have punished him. Job's erroneous view was that he was completely innocent of wickedness, not only in the sight of man, but also in God's eyes. The truth is that, tried by God's standards, all men are sinners and unworthy. Hence Job has to repent in dust and ashes; then he is restored to God's favor. All men must similarly repent before receiving God's offer of forgiveness through Christ.

In his sermon on the Psalms<sup>32</sup> Arnold declared that it is a mistake to regard them either as a mere collection of ancient writings which express the feelings of their authors, or as infallible utterances whose mood we must also share. The Psalms are inspired, but are not perfect in their wisdom or language. In using them as the language of devotion, we can participate in their inspiration. Similarly, Arnold spoke of Christ's Parables<sup>33</sup> as "scattered jewels of God's Word." Studying them is the "pleasure of contemplating wisdom absolutely inexhaustible, employed on no abstract matter of science, but on our very own nature..."

These sermons show that Arnold preached according to his theory of Scripture interpretation. He revered the Bible, studied it critically, and enforced its practical teaching.

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31. IS, sermon XII

32. ibid., sermon XIII

33. ibid., sermon XVIII

## PART TWO

## ARNOLD'S RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

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## I. ARNOLD AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

"Lead, Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,  
 Lead Thou me on!  
 The night is dark, and I am far from home--  
 Lead Thou me on!  
 Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see  
 The distant scene,--one step enough for me."  
 --Newman

The yearning for the haven of Church authority, so beautifully expressed in the <sup>above</sup> stanza of JOHN HENRY NEWMAN (1801-90), was a feeling completely foreign to Arnold. It is strange that two men who took directly opposite ways of revitalizing the Church of England should have passed so close to each other in their University training. In 1822, according to the records of Oriel College,<sup>1</sup> Newman was elected to the fellowship which Arnold had recently vacated. The Oxford scene in which Newman and his friends played such a prominent part had just been quitted by Arnold.

The two men were direct opposites both in temperament and in teaching. Arnold was exuberant, cheerful, earnest, full of zest for the battle of life. Newman was quiet, graceful, eloquent, pure of soul. Arnold was an extravert, who loved to have his family and friends about him, even in his study. Newman was an introvert, who often felt lonely despite

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1. Burgon, Lives of Twelve Good Men, p.206

his friends, and who never married. Arnold was filled with a prophetic spirit. Newman was a poet at heart. Arnold stood for political and theological liberalism, for the unity of the Church with the State, and for critical historical study. Newman stood for the dogmatic principle, for the independence of the Church from the State, and for the authority of antiquity.

While each recognized the other's greatness, they both knew that they were mortal theological enemies. If one was right, the other was wrong. So it is not surprising that each made a regrettable and uncharitable statement about the other. Once, when Arnold was quoted as authority for an interpretation of Scripture repugnant to Newman, he retorted, "But is Dr. Arnold a Christian?"<sup>2</sup> And Arnold, on his part, declared that the attacks of the Oxford Tractarians upon Dr. Hampden partook of the character of "moral wickedness."<sup>3</sup> No historian could truthfully use the adjectives "un-Christian" and "morally wicked" as applying to either Arnold or Newman. The sincerity and Christian devotion of both men were patent. But they were engaged in an irreconcilable conflict.

In view of this, the surprising fact is that their hostility was restrained, and confined to theological controversy. They were not well acquainted personally, but met without showing signs of animosity.<sup>4</sup> The one meeting of

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2. Newman, Apologia, p.33

3. Edinburgh Review, "The Oxford Malignants," v.63, p.225 (1836)

4. T.Mozley, Reminiscences, 11.53

the two men after their reputations had been established occurred on February 2nd, 1842, at an Oriel College Gaudy. Arnold's Journal contains simply the entry: "Dined in hall at Oriel, and met Newman. Evening at Hawkins's."<sup>5</sup> He was in Oxford to deliver his lectures on Modern History. Newman described the meeting in a letter to Mrs. J. Mozley.<sup>6</sup> He seems to have rather enjoyed the irony of playing host to his theological opponent; he was acting Dean of the College on the occasion. Arnold took it in his stride, and made pleasant, polite conversation. Hawkins was the most embarrassed of the three at the awkwardness of the situation.

Arnold's pupils can be given credit for helping to keep peace between the two. Many men went up from Rugby to Oxford, and came to know and love Newman as they already knew and loved Arnold. Stanley, who was one of these pupils, felt that Arnold was too harsh on Newmanism, and said so in letters to his former master.<sup>7</sup> And even the most outspoken protagonists of Newman were forced to respect the elevation of character which Rugby men brought to Oxford.<sup>8</sup>

There is an interesting chronological parallel between the lives of Newman and Arnold. Both were Oxford men and Oriel fellows, Arnold preceeding Newman. They took the B.D. degree together in 1828. That year, Newman began to preach

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5. Life, ii.256 (note)

6. Letters and Correspondence of Newman, ii.440ff

7. Life of A.P. Stanley, i.162ff, 210

8. Newman, op.cit., p.292



sermons of ever-growing influence at St. Mary's, Oxford, where he succeeded Edward Hawkins. The same year, Arnold began his influential work as headmaster of Rugby, having obtained the position partly through a recommendation from the same Hawkins. In 1833, when the very existence of the Church of England seemed threatened, Newman began the series of Oxford "Tracts for the Times," and Arnold published his pamphlet on "Principles of Church Reform."

Both men knew the stigma of unpopularity. Arnold was decried first; then as his star rose in the theological firmaments, Newman's popularity declined. In fact, part of the ill-repute of Tractarianism dates from the publication of Arnold's "Oxford Malignants."<sup>in 1836.</sup> 1841 saw the publication of Tract Ninety and considerable pressure brought to bear against Newman. In the same year, Arnold was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in Oxford. In 1842, when Arnold died suddenly of a heart attack, Newman was already on his "death-bed" as regards the Anglican Church. By 1845, when Newman became a member of the Roman Catholic Church, Stanley's Life of Arnold was beginning to find its way into every minister's and teacher's library. Both men had relinquished their leadership in Church of England affairs into the hands of their followers.

Arnold was better acquainted personally with JOHN KEBLE (1792-1866) and E.B. PUSEY (1800-82) than he was with Newman.

Keble and Arnold were contemporaries at Oxford, both at Corpus Christi and Oriel colleges. During the Tractarian controversy their personal friendship was strained at times, but never completely broken--thanks to the mediation of J.T. COLERIDGE (1790-1876), who was Keble's biographer and a close friend of Arnold as well. Arnold always managed to dissociate his friends from their opinions that he disliked; he and Keble were friends who held mutually exclusive convictions?

Arnold's relations with Pusey were cordial at the beginning of the Oxford Movement. Pusey did not take an active part in the Movement at first. It is interesting to note that he sent Arnold a courtesy copy of his early tract on "Fasting." Arnold responded with a note expressing his hope that common ground could be found between them, but regretting that Pusey's approach seemed more a worship of antiquity than a historical study of the early Church.<sup>10</sup>

Arnold also had direct contact with a fourth member of Newman's party. W.B. WARD (1812-82) called himself a disciple of Arnold in his early Oxford days. He had read the Rugby sermons and was much impressed. He eagerly besought an introduction to Arnold from Arthur Stanley. But the results of his much-anticipated interview were not satisfactory. He returned to Oxford, unable to accept the logical extreme to

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9. Memoir of Keble, ii.267  
 10. Life of Pusey, i.282

which he had relentlessly pushed Arnold's advocacy of rational inquiry.<sup>11</sup> Ward maintained a great ethical passion in common with Arnold, but his search for the basis of authority drove him into the Roman Catholic Church even before Newman.<sup>12</sup>

Arnold's contact with other prominent personalities of the Oxford Movement was more indirect and vague. They heard his lectures, or read his sermons, or heard his praises sung by Price, Stanley, Lake, Clough, and other Rugby men;<sup>13</sup> but they never carried on any two-way conversation with him. The bonds of sympathy between the Rugby men and the men of the Oxford Movement were strong, for both were fighting stagnation in the Church of England. But their principal doctrinal positions were incompatible. Thus, while Stanley had many friends in the Movement, and Pusey was one of them, he and Pusey took opposite sides in all but one of the major theological controversies which raged throughout the Church of England in the half-century following the Reform Bill of

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11. Arnold took to his bed with a headache the next day, following the interview.

12. W.G. Ward and the Oxford Movement, pp.49ff, 66-77

13. BONAMY PRICE (1807-88) was a Laleham pupil of Arnold's, and became an assistant master at Rugby under him after his University training. W.C. LAKE (1817-97) who became Dean of Durham and a High Churchman, was one of Arnold's Rugby favorites, and always loved and respected him. For more about STANLEY, see below, p. 139 ; for CLOUGH, see below, p.186

Arnold's pupils made a definite impression on Oxford. They brought with them his moral enthusiasm. See appendix VI and p.184 below.

1832.<sup>14</sup> Much as he would have liked to comply, Pusey felt compelled to refuse Stanley's invitation to preach in Westminster Abbey.<sup>15</sup>

Let us turn now from the personalities involved to look at the incompatibility of Arnold's position with that of the Oxford Movement. The original point of divergence was on the question of the relationship between Church and State. Keble's assize sermon, which Dean Church<sup>16</sup> and other historians, following Newman, have taken as the beginning ~~as the beginning~~ of the Oxford Movement, was a protest against the way that a reforming Parliament had asserted its power over the Church of England. Now Arnold, at that very time, was urging parliamentary action in the matter of Church reform; but Keble, who came from a conservative background of High Church

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14. (a) Hampden controversy - 1836, 1847  
 (b) Jerusalem bishopric - 1841-42  
 (c) Condemnation of Ward and Tract 90 - 1845  
 (Here Stanley and other liberal Churchmen had combined with the Tractarians to oppose the original proposal of censure, but on the grounds that the University had no right to interpret the 39 Articles and require subscription to that particular interpretation. They, of course, did not approve Ward's theology).  
 (d) Gorham judgment - 1848-50  
 (e) Endowment of Greek professorship at Oxford - 1860  
 (f) Essays and Reviews controversy - 1860-64  
 (g) Colenso case - 1863-65  
 (h) Modification of use of Athanasian creed - 1870-73  
 (i) Ritual controversy - 1874-89
15. Life of Pusey, iv.66. In this connection, Pusey could not see that he had any Christianity in common with Jowett, Stanley's friend and fellow liberal.
16. Church, R.W., The Oxford Movement, 1833-45, is the standard history of the Movement. (p.82)



Non-jurors,<sup>17</sup> insisted that the Church must reform itself. With the need of reform so urgent, the question of who should make it may seem a minor issue; but it soon became apparent that the difference between Arnold and the Tractarians went far beyond that minor issue, and even beyond the larger question of relationship between Church and State. They differed fundamentally in their conception of the Church, on the question of the authority of tradition, on the right of private judgment, and in their attitude to the Reformation.<sup>18</sup>

The men of the Oxford Movement held a Catholic, as opposed to a Reformed, theology. This was nothing new to the Church of England. Keble said that the principles of the Oxford Movement seemed to him the same as those his father always taught him.<sup>19</sup> The orthodox High Church party had maintained a greater idealization of primitive tradition, a preference for richer liturgy, and a celebration of the Eucharist somewhat closer to the sacrifice of the Mass than the other Anglican Church parties. At the turn of the century this High Church tradition was opposed by the more powerful force of Evangelicalism.<sup>20</sup> But by 1830, both the High Church and Evangelical parties in the Church of England seemed to

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17. The Non-jurors received their name from refusing to take the oath of allegiance when William and Mary came to the throne in 1689. They held that the Church should have greater independence from the State.

18. For Arnold's estimate of Tractarianism, see Preface to CL1.

19. cf. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, p.23. This book is an excellent analysis of the forces at work in the Oxford Movement, by a Swedish Church Historian.

20. Overton, English Church in 19th Century, p.51

have lost their vitality. Neither was in popular repute.

Alongside popular demand for change, a wave of anti-clericalism swept the country in the early 1830's, for the clergy were notable in their Tory sympathies. It began to look as though the established Church might be done away with, and part of its revenues confiscated. Something had to be done about the Church. Newman proposed to revitalize it through the clergy, independent of Parliament. He talked of the high and sacred calling of the Church, and of the authority of the clergy, divinely mediated through Apostolic Succession. This was nonsense to Arnold. He proposed to liberalize the Church with the assistance of Parliament.<sup>21</sup>

While many of Arnold's proposals were new--indeed they seem to have been a hundred years ahead of their time--some tendencies toward more liberal churchmanship had appeared before 1833.<sup>22</sup> In Oxford itself, the heart of Church Toryism, a small group of men called the Oriel "Noetics"<sup>23</sup> had earned their title by vigorous use of their mental faculties, even invading the realm of religious first principles. They had criticized religious tradition, attempting to separate the husk of dogma from the kernel of true religion. Arnold himself belonged to this group; other "Noetics" were Whately,

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21. See above, ~~Chapter II (a)~~ p. 49

22. See below, pp. 128ff, 169ff  
(The Development of Broad Churchmanship, and the Rise of Biblical Criticism).

23. Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought, chapters II and III, gives a good account of the Oriel Noetics and the Oxford Movement, from a liberal viewpoint.

Hampden, Blanco White, Coplestone, and Hawkins.<sup>24</sup> These men put forth the claims of speculative liberalism at Oxford, while Coleridge and his followers sowed similar seed at Cambridge. Thus Arnold's movement for Church Reform grew out of an inquiring rationalism, linked to social and political reform, while Newman's movement for Church Revival was rooted in an orthodox High Church tradition.

The element of social and political reform which influenced Arnold's theology brought out Protestant features, in contrast to Newman's Catholicism. The philosophy behind the French Revolution insisted upon the dignity and rights of man. It fostered the liberty of the individual conscience in religious matters. Arnold welcomed such a Protestant individualism in matters of religion. He maintained that the Holy Spirit speaking to each conscience, and not the Church, is the final interpreter of the Scriptures. The rational element which influenced his theology further strengthened this conviction. God gave us minds to seek the truth, and we must pursue the quest to the best of our ability, knowing that it cannot ultimately lead us away from him.<sup>25</sup>

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24. Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, excludes DAVISON, an Oriel tutor whose work on prophecy may have influenced Arnold, from the Noetics; he includes BADEN POWELL, an under-graduate of Oriel in Arnold's time, who became a scientist, Professor at Oxford, and contributor to Essays and Reviews (see p.174 below). WHATELY (1787-1863), tutor and expert dialectician, was a close friend of Arnold and his family, and one of Newman's early guides; he was appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1832. HAMPDEN (1793-1868) gave Bampton lectures on Scholastic philosophy; his appointment to Divinity Professorship in 1836 and to see of Hereford in 1847 was the occasion for considerable theological controversy. The religious pilgrimage of BLANCO WHITE (1775-1841) led from the Spanish priesthood, through the Anglican Church, to Unitarianism in later life. COPLESTONE (1770-1849) was Provost of Oriel



The Oxford Movement theology came to the opposite conclusion, placing its reliance upon Church authority and tradition rather than upon reason. Newman consistently denounced liberalism as the exercise of thought upon matters which cannot be brought to a successful issue.<sup>26</sup> From the very first, the "Tracts for the Times" proclaimed the importance of Apostolic Succession, the sanctity of the office of Priest and Deacon, the Holy and Catholic character of the Church. The Movement was institutional and ecclesiastical. It was addressed to the clergy, and not to people generally. It held that it is hopeless and foolish for reason to inquire into religious first principles. Revelation committed into the care of the Church gives all the necessary answers, and gives them authoritatively.

However, the Oxford Movement never went to the Roman Catholic extreme of identifying the Church's authority with papal powers. Indeed, Newman and his followers for a long time regarded the Church of England as being more truly Catholic than the Roman Church; they thought it closer to

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in Arnold's time; together with his predecessor, EVELEIGH, he had raised Oriel College to an eminent position of high academic standing, had improved the University itself intellectually. When he became Bishop of Llandaff in 1828, HAWKINS (1789-1882) became the new Provost.

25. Arnold made some reservations in his rationalism. It went too far, he said, when man's reason was divorced from his "practical affections." See above, pp. 29 ff.

26. Newman, op.cit., p.288. cf. also p.97 (referring to Coleridge) where he speaks of "a liberty of speculation which no Christian can tolerate." However, Newman was not anti-rationalist; his desire was to limit the uses of reason.



the primitive Church, and less full of grievous errors. Nor was the Oxford Movement content with a static, mechanical conception of the Church, recognizing it only as an authoritative agency whose commission from Christ was passed on by means of Apostolic Succession and exercised through the Sacraments. The Movement's controversial strength lay in its exposition of the Visible Church; but its inward spiritual vitality arose from the identity of the Visible Church with the Church Invisible--the Communion of Saints.<sup>27</sup> The Communion of Saints was a vital, life-giving principle to the Oxford Movement because it was conceived as a fellowship of holiness rather than a group of the elect. Holiness was a key concept in the theology of the Movement. It led to a new intensity of worship, and it bore ethical fruit.

In contrast to their rich concept of the Church Universal, filled with holiness and entrusted with the authority of Christ's own commission, Arnold's ideal Church seemed, to the men of the Oxford Movement, to be very poor indeed.<sup>28</sup> He would cheapen Church membership by making it synonymous with citizenship. He would admit dissenters, introduce variety into the Sunday evening services, give considerable liberty of doctrinal interpretation, and have laymen take a much larger share in Church government.—And all this in the name

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27. Brillioth, op.cit., chapter XIII

28. Church, op.cit., p.7, calls Arnold's theory of the Church "too unhistorical and too revolutionary."

of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ! To Newman and his followers this was sheer destruction of the Church.

Arnold's Protestant emphasis on Justification by Faith was just as incomprehensible to the Tractarians as his Broad Churchmanship. He was a man of great zeal for moral living. But did not moral living demand adherence to God's revealed will as taught by the Church? If a man can be accounted righteous before God on some other basis than his obedience and moral behavior, the whole foundation of morality seemed to be undermined. Ward was particularly vehement in his denunciation of Arnold at this point. The Lutheran doctrine of justification was utterly repugnant to him. Other Oxford Movement writers described Arnold as "German"--an adjective which bore unfavorable connotations--both because of his "Lutheranism" and because of his rationalism.<sup>29</sup>

We have seen briefly the opposition between Arnold and the Oxford Movement in their views of the relationship between Church and State, of the nature of the Church and Worship, of the importance of authority and tradition and reason, and of the doctrine of justification. Let us turn now to examine their affinities, for Arnold's pupils and Newman's followers did feel a definite kinship.

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29. J.B. Mozley, Essays Historical and Theological, ii.25 This review of Stanley's Life of Arnold is a very good one, written from the Tractarian viewpoint.

First of all, both Arnold and the Oxford Movement aimed at revitalizing the Church. It is interesting to note in this connection that three men prominent in the Movement had liberal leanings in their early careers which they later outgrew. Newman studied under Whately, Ward read Arnold avidly, and Pusey studied in Germany. But all three fell in with Keble, HURRELL FROUDE (1803-36), WILLIAM PALMER (1803-1885), and the orthodox High Church Anglicans when they started to do something about the Church.

A certain element of romanticism or anti-rationalism was connected with the enthusiasm for Church revival of both Arnold and the Oxford Movement. Scott and Wordsworth had paved the way for an approach to religion very different than in the days of deistic controversy. The presence of this romantic element in the Oxford Movement is shown by Keble's poetry,<sup>30</sup> and by the revival of richer liturgical forms. Arnold, despite his critical historical study and insistence upon the reasonableness of Christianity, was also affected by the romantic element. He tended to idealize the common man, and insisted that religion must be practical rather than speculative. In his personal life, the same element showed itself in his great love for scenery. Because both Arnold and the Tractarians were influenced by a romantic element, neither moved in the direction of a neo-scholasticism.

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30. The Christian Year. The Oxford Movement also produced Lyra Apostolica.

The most obvious point of affinity between Arnold and the Oxford Movement was neither Church revival, nor romanticism, but ethical passion. Arnold's vigorous moral earnestness had attracted Ward. Newman, too, emphasized morality, often an ascetic morality; it made it easy for some of Arnold's Rugby pupils to go over to Newman just as Ward had. On the practical level, the morality of Arnold and of Newman seemed pretty much the same. Both would have agreed with Kant<sup>31</sup> that the practical reason is much more necessary in religion than the speculative reason. Both objected to the sort of rationalism which could result in the disunity of man's personality by isolating the reason from practical action. But on the doctrinal level, there was a subtle, but important, difference between Arnold's morality and Newman's: Arnold's ethics proceeded from the assertion that religion is practical; Newman's, from the identification of religion with holiness. Arnold's morality was based upon a practical "Christian affection" dominating the whole man; Newman's, upon the worship of the Holy One with all of life.

The other point at which there was an apparent affinity between Arnold and the Oxford Movement was their study of antiquity. One of the great literary achievements of the Movement was the "Library of the Fathers"--a large series of translations of the early Church fathers edited by Pusey,

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31. Neither was directly influenced by Kant. Only Arnold could have read his German.



Keble, and Newman. Their study of the fathers influenced their theology. Newman first began to feel insecure in his via media after a study of the Monophysite controversy.<sup>32</sup> Several of the Tracts were collections of statements of the fathers on particular questions.<sup>33</sup> Pusey's sermons were buttressed by citation of the fathers. But this study of the fathers was largely uncritical; the Tractarians simply searched for authority. Arnold, on the other hand, was a much more critical historian; he searched for the truth, and for profitable insights. He wanted to apply the lessons of history, but only in comparable situations. He wanted to pick and choose from ancient authors, rather than accept their dicta as a whole. He specialized more in secular than in sacred history, but he carried his critical historical method over into the religious field as well.

There were, then, certain affinities between Arnold and the Oxford Movement. They gave Dean Church the right to speak with more charity of the "new kind of liberalism"<sup>34</sup> stemming from Rugby than of the "older Oxford liberals" whose opposition made No. Ninety the last of the Tracts. But despite these affinities, Arnold's whole framework of thought was essentially incompatible with that of the Oxford Movement. Dean Church recognized this, too. He compared the forcefulness

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32. Church, op.cit., p.196

33. The "Catenae Patrum" (Tracts No. 74, 78, 81)

34. Church, op.cit., p.338

of Newman's sermons with those of Arnold, "his great opposite."<sup>35</sup>

Which side won--Arnold's followers, or Newman's? There is no simple answer to that question. Many bishops and archbishops of the Victorian English Church were with Arnold in their sympathies; they were probably appointed for that very reason by the liberal ministers of a Protestant Queen. No Tractarians were appointed to such high positions.<sup>36</sup> But the influence of the Oxford Movement was nonetheless remarkably widespread. While Arnoldian liberalism became part of the major strain of Anglican theology in the Victorian era, there was also an accompanying minor strain of richness of worship contributed by the Oxford Movement.<sup>37</sup>

## II. ARNOLD AND THE BROAD CHURCH MOVEMENT

"Our little systems have their day,  
They have their day and cease to be:  
They are but broken lights of Thee  
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."  
--Tennyson

### (a) Broad Church Characteristics

The Broad Church Movement was never a movement in the same sense as the Oxford Movement. It was a journey in the

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35. Church, op.cit., p.19

36. R.W. CHURCH (1815-90), might be considered an exception to this. His position as Dean of St.Paul's was very influential, and he might well have been appointed to the see of Canterbury at Tait's death, had he been younger.

37. Ward's judgment (W.G.Ward and the Oxford Movement, p.380) that "it is not Pusey and Keble who have triumphed; it is rather Stanley and Jowett" was premature. Lux Mundi, written by later Anglo-Catholic thinkers, reveals a considerable continuing influence of the Oxford Movement upon Anglican theology.

same theological direction during the years around 1840-70 made by a heterogeneous group of men; it was not a party rallied around doctrinal statements to gain certain changes in the Church. The term "Broad Church" describes a common attitude toward the affairs of the Church of England on the part of individual men, among whom there were doctrinal similarities.

Arnold had no intention of founding or supporting any Broad Church party, and Maurice insisted that he did not belong to any such party. Nevertheless, Arnold and Maurice are generally agreed to head the lists of prominent Broad Churchmen. It is fair to label them as leaders of the Broad Church Movement if the distinction between movement and party is clearly kept in mind.<sup>38</sup>

It is difficult to determine just who were Broad Churchmen and who were not. Some of their opponents heaped all liberals together under the title, regardless of their conception of the Church.<sup>39</sup> We shall be more discriminating in the following pages. We shall admit to the Broad Church Movement only those who cherished the Church of England as a branch of the Church Universal, yet advocated freedom within it for differences and changes of doctrine and practice; and who also

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38. Sanders, C.R., Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, pp.7-16

39. cf. Wm. Palmer's article in the English Review (Dec., 1848) "On tendencies toward subversion of the Faith", in which he lumps together Hare, Bunsen, Carlyle, Coleridge, Emerson, Thirlwall, Francis Newman, Mill, Samuel Wilberforce, Arnold, Trench, Maurice, and Sterling.

promoted the outreach of Christianity into the whole of life.

The common attitude which distinguished Broad Churchmen from both the High Church (Anglo-Catholic) and Low Church (Evangelical) parties, was their desire to make the Church of England more inclusive and comprehensive. They showed a high degree of tolerance toward varying doctrines and practices, and yearned for a broader unity. A.P. Stanley, Arnold's pupil and biographer, expressed his conviction that the Anglican Church was "by the very conditions of its being, not High or Low, but Broad."<sup>40</sup> W.J. Conybeare, who popularized the term "Broad Church" by his article on "Church Parties" in the Edinburgh Review,<sup>41</sup> characterized the Broad Churchmen as desiring comprehensiveness, adopting charity and toleration as watchwords, believing in compromise, emphasizing points of agreement between all Christians, and minimizing differences.

This yearning for comprehensiveness, so characteristically a Broad Church attitude, extended to other spheres than that of organized religion. The Broad Churchmen were not only interested in uniting different varieties of Christian faith and practice in one Church; they also asserted the unity of religious truth with all of knowledge, and they preached charity, tolerance, and cooperation in political and economic life. Thus Biblical criticism, an intellectual movement, and Christian Socialism, a practical effort, both gained considerable support from the Broad Church Movement.

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40. Edinburgh Review, v.92, p.266 (1850)

41. ibid., v.98, pp.273ff (1853)



Stanley, speaking on the prospects for liberal theology, distinguished four characteristics of the Broad Church attitude: (a) largeness of Christian belief, (b) emphasis on the moral side of religion, (c) regard for the spirit, not the letter, of formulations, (d) a progressive character.<sup>42</sup> The thinking of all the Broad Churchmen was marked by such attributes as freedom of inquiry, love of fair play, and social concern. In reality, all these characteristics of Stanley and the other Broad Church thinkers are corollaries of the principle of unity through comprehensiveness, which we take to be the prime assertion of the Broad Church Movement.

(b) Sources and Intra-relationships

Thomas Arnold and SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (1772-1834)<sup>43</sup> were the two major sources of the Broad Church Movement. The area of agreement between these two men was large. Both advocated an open mind, an inquiring spirit, in dealing with the Bible and sacred traditions. Both had a desire for unity and love for coherence which led them to seek some form of united Christianity. Coleridge's ideal Church was even broader than Arnold's, for it was universal and not national-- "the Divine aggregation of what is really divine in all Christian communities and more or less ideally represented in every true Church."<sup>44</sup> Both Coleridge and Arnold objected to thinking of the Church as consisting merely of the clergy. But

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42. Stanley, Addresses and Sermons delivered in America, p.8

43. See Sanders, op.cit., for a Study of Coleridge's contribution to the Broad Church Movement.

44. Tulloch, op.cit., p.32

Arnold differed from Coleridge in making speculative inquiry subservient to practical living.<sup>45</sup> Thus he limited the breadth of his ideal Church to the English nation, to make it more practicable. Arnold also laid greater stress upon ethical behavior, fair play, justice and tolerance than did Coleridge. Both were concerned with the social ills of their time, but Arnold suggested more practical remedies. Coleridge was a philosopher; Arnold, an inspirer of morality.

The men who participated in the Broad Church Movement fall into two easily distinguishable groups. There were the Cambridge men, who inherited much of Coleridge's religious philosophy; and the Oxford men, who were largely influenced by the Arnold tradition.<sup>46</sup> J.C. Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, Westcott, and Hort were Broad Churchmen who were educated at Cambridge. Stanley, Jowett, Robertson, Tait, and Frederick Temple were Oxford Broad Churchmen.

One international Broad Churchman, who cannot be classified with either group because he was a German, was C.C.J. BUNSEN, close friend of Arnold and Hare, who shared many of their religious views. As Prussian ambassador in London, he promoted the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric, a cooperative venture of the English and German churches.

The Oriel Noetics (Whately, Hampden, et.al.)<sup>47</sup> and

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45. Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold, p.7

46. There was also a comparable movement in Scotland under Erskine, which supported the English Broad Church Movement, influencing Maurice and Robertson particularly.

47. See above, p.118

earlier liberals do not properly belong to the Broad Church Movement. They preceeded it, and helped pave the way for it. Their liberalism was more narrowly intellectual, and their concepts of the Church were more rigidly ecclesiastical. Whately, for instance, spoke of the Church as a substantive spiritual body. His concept was more akin in many respects to Newman's idea of the embodiment of sacred authority<sup>48</sup> than to Arnold's idea of a comprehensive Christian society.

Dividing the Broad Churchmen into two groups, as we have done, is not to say that those from Cambridge would have nothing to do with those from Oxford, or vice versa. From the very beginning of the Movement, each branch interacted with the other. Arnold had read much of Coleridge, and respected him as "more of a great man" than any other contemporary.<sup>49</sup> He was an intimate friend of Coleridge's nephew, J.T.Coleridge. J.C. Hare formed a lasting friendship with Arnold through his brother Augustus, an Oxford man. Many of Arnold's Rugby pupils, like Hort, went up to Cambridge and made his reputation known there. Indeed, Cambridge was the chief center of the Broad Church Movement; Arnold had debated long before deciding to send his son Matthew to Oxford rather than her sister University. Maurice spent his residence at Cambridge studying Civil Law; in 1830 he took an additional year at Oxford to prepare for Holy Orders. Through such academic interchanges and friendships,

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48. Newman said that Whately gave him his first ideas of the nature of the Church. (Apologia, p.12)

49. Life, ii.61



as well as through published writings, the Broad Churchmen of both groups came to know and supplement each other's religious opinions.

(c) Cambridge Broad Churchmen

The Cambridge wing of the Broad Church Movement was more like a "school" than its Oxford counterpart. JULIUS CHARLES HARE (1795-1855)<sup>50</sup> came first of the group. He was tutor to Maurice, who in turn was Kingsley's mentor, and whose writings greatly influenced Westcott and Hort. All five of these men held teaching positions at the University.

Hare was a direct and confessed disciple of Coleridge. Also, it was he who aroused Arnold's enthusiasm for Niebuhr. He edited the third, posthumous, volume of Arnold's History of Rome, which was based upon Niebuhr's historical work. His

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50. Hare was born abroad, in Italy. He received his schooling at Tunbridge, at Weimar in Germany, at Charterhouse, and at the hands of a brother. He went up to Cambridge and was elected fellow of Trinity College, where he later became a Classical lecturer (1822). He was ordained in 1826, accepted the living at Hurstmonceaux, Sussex--his family's ancestral home--in 1832, and resided there until the end of his life. In 1840 he became Archdeacon of Lewes, and in 1844 married Esther, sister of F.D. Maurice. Together with his brother, Augustus, he published Guesses at Truth (1827), and with Thirlwall (see below, p. 170) translated Niebuhr's History of Rome, (1828-32). He gave a series of Cambridge University sermons on The Victory of Faith in 1839 (published 1840), and another course on The Mission of the Comforter in 1840 (published 1846). To preface an edition of John Sterling's Essays and Tales (1848) he wrote a Memoir of Sterling. (Carlyle, dissatisfied with this Memoir, wrote a Life of Sterling whose fame has eclipsed that of Hare's work). Most of his other published writings were sermons, charges to the clergy under him, or vindications of his friends. He was at his best in controversial writing, e.g., "Contest with Rome," "Vindication of Luther."



influence on many of the younger clergy of the time, as teacher, ecclesiastical supervisor, and friend, was considerable. Both Stanley and Maurice published articles about Hare.<sup>51</sup>

While Arnold cannot be said to have determined the course of Hare's thinking, the two held many opinions in common, and kept up regular correspondence. Many of Arnold's letters to Hare are revealing:

(1835) "I cordially enter into your views about a Theological Review, and I think the only difficulty would be to find an editor; I do not think Whately would have time to write, but I can ask him; and undoubtedly he would approve of the scheme. Hampden occurs to me as a more likely man to join such a thing than Pusey. My notion of the main objects of the work would be this: 1st, To give really fair accounts and analyses of the works of early Christian writers, giving also, as far as possible, a correct view of the critical questions relating to them... 2nd, To make some beginnings of Biblical criticism... 3rd, To illustrate in a really impartial spirit... the rise and progress of dissent... with a view of promoting union."<sup>52</sup>

(1840) "I have read your sermons with very great pleasure... It is a great delight to me to read a book with which I agree so generally and so heartily..."<sup>53</sup>

(1842) "I thank you very much for your Charge, and for the kind mention of my name, and the sanction given to what I have said."<sup>54</sup>

Maurice made the following judgment about Arnold's influence upon Hare from first-hand knowledge:

"It is a far more reasonable supposition that Mr. Hare learned much from Dr. Arnold (than that he learned from Whately). He could hardly help doing so, for they were personal friends, and some of their pursuits

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51. Published together as introductory material in the third edition of Victory of Faith (London: Macmillan, 1874).

52. Life, i.348

53. ibid., ii.206

54. ibid., ii.271

"and interests were similar... Dr. Arnold.. was the head of an illustrious school, in which he both acquired and communicated all that was strongest and most vital in his ethics and divinity, and through which he acted powerfully on his country. But as Mr. Hare... had become a teacher himself before Dr. Arnold was called to be Master of Rugby, he certainly did not study under him there... When they came to appreciate each other, their intercourse was maintained on the only footing upon which the intercourse of two men of independent characters and different duties can be maintained--that of exchanging each other's treasures, and respecting each other's peculiarities."<sup>55</sup>

FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE (1805-72)<sup>56</sup> who made the above evaluation of Arnold's influence upon Hare, was easily the greatest theological thinker of the Broad Church Movement. It would be impossible to summarize here, in a brief paragraph, his contributions to English theology. Our main interest is rather to see his relationship to the Broad Church Movement in

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55. Preface to Hare's Victory of Faith (3rd ed.) p.xix f.

56. Because his father was a Unitarian minister, Maurice did not subscribe to the 39 Articles and take his degree at Cambridge. His first efforts after leaving the University were in the literary world in London, as contributor and editor of the Athenaeum, and author of the novel, Eustace Conway. Then he determined to take Holy Orders in the Church of England. In 1835, after two years in country parishes, he returned to London; there he began to make a name for himself as Chaplain of Guy's Hospital, Professor at King's College, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn (for law students), and author of many theological articles. A storm of controversy broke around him in 1853. His association with the Christian Socialists and his theological liberalism, particularly his teaching on Eternal Life, caused the Council of King's College to dismiss him from his two professorships (one in Literature and the other in Theology). In 1860 he was appointed to the ministry of St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, and in 1866 to a professorship in Moral Theology at Cambridge. He died in 1872, a greatly respected pastor, social reformer, and scholar, with over a score of books to his credit, as well as vast numbers of pamphlets and magazine articles. His best-known works include the Kingdom of Christ (1838), Theological Essays (1853), What is Revelation (1859), Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy (1872).

general, and to Arnold in particular.

Maurice was greatly influenced by Coleridge, even before his University training. At Trinity College, Cambridge, he and John Sterling were the favorite pupils of Hare. Both<sup>57</sup> allied themselves alongside their tutor with Coleridge's teaching, and against the Utilitarian philosophy then coming into vogue (1825).

Maurice was not personally acquainted with Arnold, although they recorded their respect for each other.<sup>58</sup> Maurice was close to Hare, Tom Hughes,<sup>59</sup> and Stanley, each of whom knew Arnold well--the latter two being Rugby pupils. It is interesting to note that the Christian Socialists included Arnold's works in the set of books they gave Maurice for a wedding present.<sup>60</sup>

While Arnold and Maurice shared a common attitude toward many theological questions of their day, there was a noticeable contrast in their ways of thinking--the one practical, and the other philosophical. Arnold might be justly criticized as tending to be "broad and shallow,"<sup>61</sup> but not so Maurice. His thought, like Coleridge's, was a "spiritual philosophy." He stoutly defended his conviction of the soul's immediate perception of God, without the mediation of historical revelation

57. The three became linked by family ties: Maurice and Sterling married sisters; Hare married a sister of Maurice; Maurice's second wife was Hare's half-sister.

58. Life, ii.174 (A letter from Arnold to Hare, revealing also a high estimate of Coleridge and Niebuhr). They met only once.

59. See below, p.149 et seq.

60. Life of Maurice, i.551

61. Arnold's doctrine of God seemed inadequate to Maurice. ibid., ii.146-149



or of an authoritative Church. On the other hand, Arnold's approach to God was through Christ only, and he emphasized the primacy of Scripture in gaining knowledge of Christ. While Arnold gave impetus and a moral grounding to the Broad Church Movement, it was Maurice who provided it with a distinctive theology. The two men largely complemented each other. The main features of the thinking of each can be seen in the liberal theology which was dominant in Britain and America from the Victorian Era to the two great World Wars. Preaching the Social Gospel; studying the Bible critically; emphasizing the immanence of God and the quality of Eternal Life; dwelling on God's love more than on his holiness; advocating tolerance and "unity in diversity"--all these tendencies of liberal theology can be traced back through the Broad Church Movement to Arnold or Maurice or both.

It was by reading Maurice that CHARLES KINGSLEY (1819-75)<sup>62</sup> found his interpretation of the Christian faith; once settled in a parish, he made his theological master a personal friend as well. His parish and literary work were Kingsley's two primary concerns, though he was much interested in Botany, and

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62. As a child, Kingsley was precocious, and showed a sensitive, poetic nature. He was a lover of the out-of-doors, and at Magdalene College, Cambridge, he became a popular athlete, to the detriment of his potential scholastic record. He was ordained to the curacy of Eversley, in Hampshire, in 1842; became rector in 1844, and held the living until his death. In 1864 he got into an argument with Newman which provoked the latter's Apologia. He wrote extensively; his most notable books include Yeast (1848), Alton Locke (1850), Hypatia (1853), Andromeda and other poems (1858), Westward Ho (1855), The Water Babies (1863).



held many distinguished positions.<sup>63</sup> Both in his parish work and in his writings he labored incessantly to improve the wretched living conditions of the poor. He was one of the founders of the Christian Socialist Movement in 1848, and for many years was stigmatized as the "radical Parson Lot."<sup>64</sup> He was the most influential clergyman-social reformer of his time.

Kingsley was not personally acquainted with Arnold, but knew his writings and his reputation. Leslie Stephen affirmed<sup>65</sup> that while Maurice was Kingsley's master, "Carlyle and Arnold were also among his prophets." He was a good friend of Dean Stanley and of Tom Hughes, both Arnold's pupils at Rugby. The name of Hughes, author of Tom Brown's Schooldays, is linked to Kingsley's in the "muscular" school of Christian literature, for both were athletically inclined, and were aggressive Christian Socialists. Stanley eulogized Kingsley in a sermon in Westminster Abbey (1875), and Hughes wrote a memoir to preface the 1881 edition of Alton Locke.

Kingsley regretted in later life that his parents had decided against sending him to Rugby.<sup>66</sup> He, like many readers of Stanley's Life of Arnold,<sup>67</sup> came to idealize Arnold as the symbol of liberalism. He spoke of "Arnoldizing" the clergy:<sup>68</sup> "I would devote soul and body to get together an Arnoldite

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63. e.g., Chaplain-in-ordinary to the Queen (1859), Professor of Modern History at Cambridge (1860-69), Canon of Chester (1869), Canon of Westminster (1873).

64. From the pen name he used in Christian Socialist writings.

65. in the Dictionary of National Biography.

66. Letters and Memories of Kingsley, i.22

67. He was re-reading the Life of Arnold on his visit to the U.S.A. shortly before his death. ibid., ii.442

68. ibid., i.143

party of young men." Significantly, his wife chose these words from Arnold as a chapter-text in his biography:

"I do not like to decline bearing my share of the odium, thinking that what many men call 'caution' in such matters is too often merely a selfish fear of getting oneself into trouble or ill-will."<sup>69</sup>

Although they came onto the scene later than Kingsley or Maurice or Hare, BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT (1825-1901) and FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT (1828-92)<sup>70</sup> also deserve mention with the Cambridge wing of the Broad Church Movement.<sup>71</sup> Together with their close friend, J.B. LIGHTFOOT (1828-89)<sup>72</sup>, they formed an

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69. Kingsley's Letters and Memories, i.310, quoted from Arnold's Life, ii.220

70. Westcott's career was the more varied of the two. He was Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1870-90, when he was appointed Bishop of Durham to succeed Lightfoot. He was a master at Harrow under C.J. Vaughan, one of Arnold's pupils and close friend of Stanley, prior to his Cambridge professorship; he also held canonries of Peterborough Cathedral (1869-83) and Westminster Abbey (1883-90). Hort preached the consecration sermon for his University colleague in Westminster Abbey. He was Fellow of Emmanuel College and Lecturer in Theology from 1872-78, Hulsean Professor of Divinity from 1878-87, and Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity from 1887-92. He was a parish minister prior to his Cambridge teaching.

The two collaborated as members of the English New Testament Revision Committee (1870-81), in revising portions of the English translation of the Apocrypha, and in their great critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament (published 1881). Each also published separately many sermons, lectures, Bible commentaries, and scholarly articles.

71. despite Hort's dislike of the term "Broad Church", Life of Hort, ii.182

72. Lightfoot was less of a Broad Churchman in his doctrinal and political sympathies, but an equally great Biblical critic. He attended school in Birmingham under Lee, when Westcott was a senior boy. (See below, footnotes pp.138,144) He became Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Canon of St. Paul's, and Bishop of Durham. He served on the New Testament Revision Committee, and wrote a number of New Testament critical commentaries.

unusual trio of great New Testament scholars. They first met in 1849, when Westcott was taking private pupils and Hort was finishing his B.A. work at Trinity College. Both were associated with Cambridge during much of their active ministries. Their fame rests largely upon their critical text of the New Testament, which was the major literary work of both for over twenty-five years.

Westcott attended King Edward VI's School in Birmingham under Prince Lee,<sup>73</sup> who had been one of Arnold's most capable assistant masters at Rugby. Hort went to Rugby under Arnold and Tait. Both acknowledged their indebtedness to Arnold's teaching. Westcott spoke of looking at the Life of Arnold "for the hundreth time."<sup>74</sup> He consciously allied himself with Hampden's and Arnold's "heresy"<sup>75</sup> during his college days: "If he (Arnold) were a heretic, I should be satisfied to be one, too."<sup>76</sup> It was Arnold's attitude to the Bible that particularly impressed them. Hort once said that, theologically speaking, "What I am chiefly is no doubt what Rugby and Arnold made me."<sup>77</sup>

(d) Oxford Broad Churchmen

The foremost figure in the Oxford wing of the Broad Church

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73. Among Westcott's schoolmates were Lightfoot and Benson (see below, p. 144). After his appointment to the see of Manchester, Lee ordained all three of his famous pupils.

74. Life of Westcott, p.332

75. ibid., p.52

76. ibid., p.94

77. Life of Hort, ii.63



Movement was ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY (1815-81).<sup>78</sup> He was "free inquiry" and "tolerance" personified; indeed, Maurice called him a "bigot for toleration."<sup>79</sup> The extent of his friendships was remarkable. He was personally acquainted with the prominent churchmen of all parties; he was a favorite at Court; and he was a welcome stimulus in any literary, ecclesiastical, or academic group.

Stanley's position both at Oxford and in London placed him in the center of theological controversy, where he consistently advocated Christian charity, and seconded liberal views. True to Arnold's spirit, his watchwords were "unity without uniformity," and "comprehensiveness without compromise." He was one of Arnold's favorite pupils, and his most ardent

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78. Stanley came by his Broad Churchmanship naturally. His father, Edward Stanley, was one of the few liberal clergy of the 1830's, and was appointed Bishop of Norwich in 1837. His mother, too, was well read, and of broad sympathies. Upon the recommendation of Augustus Hare, who married Mrs. Stanley's sister, they decided that Rugby under Arnold was just the school for young Arthur. He developed rapidly in the Rugby environment, taking all the scholastic distinctions there, and later, a good many of the prizes available at Oxford. He spent his first 17 years at Oxford as scholar of Balliol, then fellow and tutor of University College. He also served as secretary of the Oxford University Commission (1850-52), suggesting needed reforms to Parliament. For 5 years away from the University he was a Canon of Canterbury Cathedral. He returned to Oxford in 1856 as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and remained until his appointment as Dean of Westminster in 1864. His Life of Arnold (1844) was his greatest literary work. Also popular was his Sinai and Palestine (1856). He tried his hand at biography again in the Memoirs of Catherine and Edward Stanley, his parents (1879), and published many lectures, sermons, and occasional articles. His excellence as a writer lay in the charm of his literary descriptions, rather than in critical theology.

79. Oliver, A.P. Stanley, p.340



disciple. There was an unusual bond of sympathy between master and pupil, which must have been heightened by Stanley's undertaking to write Arnold's biography, almost immediately after his death.

Stanley represents an extreme in Broad Churchmanship--an extreme which, for all its admirable qualities, was essentially negative in that it emphasized tolerance more than any positive theology. By supporting Maurice, Kingsley, and Jowett, as well as by his own preaching and lecturing, Stanley aided the cause of liberal doctrine, Christian social reform, and advancement of Biblical criticism in England.

The most prominent scholar in the Oxford wing of the Broad Church Movement was a great friend of Stanley's, BENJAMIN JOWETT (1817-93)<sup>80</sup>. From the time he came up to Oxford in 1836 until his death, Jowett was intimately connected with the University, and particularly with Balliol College. His theological reputation was established by his commentary on Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans (1855), and his essay "On the Interpretation of Scripture" in Essays and Reviews (1860)<sup>81</sup>.

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80. Jowett became scholar of Balliol in 1836, fellow in 1838, tutor in 1842, and master in 1870. He was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in the University in 1855; because of his views on Biblical criticism, Pusey led the conservatives of both High and Low Church parties in opposing the subsequent endowment of the Greek chair. It was in later life that he made his greatest contributions to scholarship--i.e., his translations of Plato, and his able administration of academic affairs.

81. For more about Essays and Reviews, see below, p.173 et seq.

In his interpretation of the Bible, Jowett tried to free the text from dogmatic encrustations, and let it speak for itself, as living literature, in the light of the times and circumstances in which it was written.

Jowett consciously followed Arnold in interpreting the Scriptures. He was not a personal friend of Arnold, but his residence at Oxford during and after the Tractarian controversy, and his close friendship with Stanley, gave him a good acquaintance with Arnold's thought.<sup>82</sup> He led an advance in Biblical criticism when his commentary was published simultaneously with Stanley's Corinthians, paving the way for the later work of Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort. The commentaries were brought to publication by Stanley's desire to carry out Arnold's plan for a series of Bible commentaries.<sup>83</sup>

FREDERICK W. ROBERTSON (1816-53)<sup>84</sup> was the Broad Churchman

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82. see appendix VI

83. Jowett, Thessalonians etc., (3rd ed.), p. vi

84. Born in a family of army officers and educated in Scotland, Robertson was anxious for a military career. But circumstances and his father's wishes sent him into the Church, where he always regarded himself as a "soldier of the cross". He had a strong religious background of evangelical piety. After study at Oxford from 1837-40 he was ordained and took a curacy in Winchester. He resigned upon medical advice after a year, and traveled on the Continent as far as Geneva. In 1842 he again took a curacy, this time in Cheltenham, and held it for 5 years. It was a period of great intellectual growth. Then theological doubts, despondency, and ill-health overtook him; he again sought relief on the Continent, this time centering in Heidelberg. On his return, he took a poor parish in Oxford for a few months, and in August, 1847 began his famous 6 year ministry at Trinity Chapel, Brighton. His only great work was his Sermons, published after his premature death. Robertson's sermons show the mark of true genius. They are clear, penetrating, warmly vital--even though their author never wrote them for publication. They were edited from notes or recollections made for or by friends.

whom Stanley called the "greatest English preacher" of the nineteenth century.<sup>85</sup> He belongs to the Broad Church Movement because of his independent thought, his opposition to the established Church parties, and his search for the truth in all dogmatic formulations--not in some compromise between opposites. He made an effort to discern spiritual truth and to present it by suggestion rather than by doctrinal teaching. He was also very active in promoting the welfare of the working men of Brighton.

Robertson never identified himself with Arnold, Maurice, or Kingsley,<sup>86</sup> but his work paralleled and reinforced theirs.<sup>87</sup> He was not personally acquainted with Arnold--or even with Stanley--but he recorded the vivid impression which Arnold's inaugural address on Modern History made upon him as a student at Oxford.<sup>88</sup> Stanley, in making the almost inevitable comparison of Arnold's and Newman's sermons with those of Robertson gave him the highest praise. While Newman's sermons, according to Stanley, have a "singular grace," and Arnold's are "manly, wholesome, and vigorous," Robertson's sermons have an unusual "completeness," "simplicity," and "dignity." They are above "party spirit" and "conventionality," and show an appreciation of "different sides of truth."<sup>89</sup>

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85. Addresses and Sermons delivered in America, p.74

86. Life of Robertson, i.127

87. ibid., ii.2-19

88. see appendix VII

89. Century magazine v.23 (new series v.1), p.559 (N.Y: 1882)

The Spectator drew the also almost inevitable comparison between the biographies of Robertson and Arnold:

"No book published since the Life of Dr. Arnold has produced so strong an impression on the moral imagination and spiritual theology of England as we may expect from these volumes... Mr. Brooke has done his work as Dr. Stanley did his... and it is not possible to give higher praise."<sup>90</sup>

The two Broad Churchmen who brought the Movement to its highest prestige in the Church of England were ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT (1811-82) and FREDERICK TEMPLE (1821-1902).<sup>91</sup> Tait was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1868, and Temple in 1896. They were close friends from their Oxford days, and had much in common. They showed great initiative and self-reliance, like their friend who occupied the see of Canterbury between their respective archbishoprics, E. W.

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90. Postscript to 2nd ed. of the Life of Robertson.

91. Tait was born in Scotland, and educated there until he went up to Oxford in 1830. He remained until 1842 as scholar, and later tutor, of Balliol College. Upon the death of Arnold, he succeeded to the headmastership of Rugby. After a severe illness, he resigned to become Dean of Carlisle in 1850. From there, he was elevated to the bishopric of London in 1856, and to the archbishopric 12 years later.

Temple went up to Balliol College in 1839, after schooling by his mother, and in Blundell's School, Tiverton. There he became lecturer, fellow, and junior dean. From 1848-57 he was employed in public education work--3 years by H.M. government, and 6 years as principal of a schoolmaster's training college. He was appointed headmaster of Rugby in 1857, and Bishop of Exeter in 1869. From there he was translated to London in 1885, and to Canterbury upon the death of Benson in 1896.

The bulk of the published writings of both men consists of their sermons, charges, and addresses delivered in the course of their regular duties.



BENSON (1829-96);<sup>92</sup> they<sup>also</sup> had brilliant University careers in spite of financial handicaps.

Tait was one of the four Oxford tutors who protested against Tract Ninety when it was first published in 1841. Temple gained notoriety by contributing an article on "The Education of the World" to Essays and Reviews in 1860;<sup>93</sup> he was a more forthright liberal than Tait. Their friendship was nearly broken during the Essays and Reviews controversy because Tait, as Bishop of London, joined the other bishops in condemning the tendency of the book, after privately assuring both Temple and Jowett that he saw nothing objectionable in their particular essays. Tait, during most of his episcopacy, was helping steer the Church of England through troubled theological waters; he steered a course that was, on the whole, liberal, and favorable to the reconciliation of religion with the growth of scientific research. Both men were greatly concerned with education. Tait served an eight year term as headmaster of Rugby; and Temple, twelve years.

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92. Benson, like Lightfoot and Westcott, attended King Edward's School in Birmingham, and went up to Cambridge University. From 1852-59 he was an assistant master at Rugby under Goulburn and Temple, and from 1859-72 the master of newly constituted Wellington College--where he was a good neighbor of Kingsley's. For the next 5 years he was Chancellor at Lincoln Cathedral, and in 1877 was appointed Bishop over the diocese of Truro, newly created from Temple's oversize diocese of Exeter. Tait groomed him for the primacy, to which he succeeded in 1882. Benson managed to keep fairly clear of theological controversy. He studied Cyprian as a hobby, and a book embodying his researches was published just after his death.

93. see below, p.175 et seq.

Arnold's influence upon Tait and Temple is easily traceable. Both were intimate friends of Stanley and Jowett in their Oxford days. Their efforts to fill Arnold's shoes at Rugby must have brought home to them his great force of character, and given his teachings new relevance. Temple specifically recorded his indebtedness to Arnold.<sup>94</sup> Tait's school sermons<sup>95</sup> were obviously modelled after Arnold's, and many of his statements are echoes of Arnold's thinking. He spoke of the "moral evidences of the faith," and the "wholeness of life"; he wanted practical training for ministers.<sup>96</sup> He preached at Oxford, in 1845, on "Variety in Unity." In writing about clergy subscription, he said: "...in dealing with the difficulties of an inquisitive age, the generous, confiding policy is the best and most Christian."<sup>97</sup> He tended, however, to justify the status quo more than Arnold.

(e) Arnold's Influence on the Broad Church Movement

We have noticed the relationships of five men from each wing of the Broad Church Movement to Arnold, -and to the Movement as a whole. From this brief glance at the lives of representative Broad Churchmen, two conclusions emerge:

- (1) These men earned their places in the Broad Church Movement by expressing, in one way or another, their conviction

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94. see appendix III; cf. Benson's tribute, appendix XIV  
 95. Lessons for School Life (1853); see especially the preface.  
 96. Life of Tait, 1.107, 141, 149ff  
 97. ibid., 1.489

of the deep-lying unity of Christian truth with all of truth, and of Christian life with all of life. (2) They all respected Arnold as teacher, friend, or prophet of liberalism.

Stanley was the only one among them who used the term "Broad Church" to describe his convictions. Only he followed the implications for ecclesiastical polity that Arnold drew from the principle of unity through comprehensiveness. But each of the others drew his own implications from the same principle, and in his own way helped make the Church of England more tolerant of varying forms of belief and practice. They all fought to unfetter Christian truth from superstition and tradition; they all were concerned with the relevance of Christianity to common life. Thus Jowett, Westcott, and Hort became champions of a better and more critical study of the Bible, and Kingsley and Robertson conspicuously advanced the cause of the working man. Arnold's blessing was with them, and they were consciously helped by his example.

Arnold's influence upon the Broad Churchmen was great; it was not determinative, but suggestive; it was not deep, but widespread. One could fairly accurately define the Broad Church Movement as the common trend in theology among those leaders of the Church of England who held Arnold of Rugby in high esteem.

### III. ARNOLD'S INFLUENCE IN CHRISTIAN SOCIAL REFORM

"O England is a pleasant place  
for them that's rich and high  
But England is a cruel place  
for such poor folks as I."  
--Kingsley

The fifty years following the Reform Bill of 1832 saw the rise of a great movement for social reform in Britain. The Industrial Revolution, and the degrading conditions for workers, both at work and in their homes, which followed in its wake, made some sort of reform necessary. Although many were opposed to any reform, especially at first, a substantial and growing body of opinion among Anglican churchmen<sup>1</sup> was led by Arnold and those whom he influenced to favor reform measures. In the following pages, we shall review five phases of social reform, in the order of Arnold's influence in them.

#### (a) Christian Socialist Movement

Among a group of younger churchmen, Arnold created a favorable attitude toward political and economic reform, in which the Christian Socialist Movement (1848-54)<sup>2</sup> was enabled to flourish. The Movement fulfilled Kingsley's desire for an "Arnoldite" party of young men to establish a journal and circulate liberal opinions.<sup>3</sup> Tom Hughes had sat at the feet of Arnold, and from him received the inspiration which the

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1. We are here concerned primarily with Church of England clergy and laity. Many Free churchmen also played a part in British social reform, and there were non-Christian sources as well.
  2. Not to be confused with the Christian Social Union (1889), or the Church Socialist League (1906). C. E. Raven has published a detailed study of the Movement.
  3. Kingsley's Letters and Memories, i.143; see above, p. 136



Christian Socialists guided into a career of social reform.<sup>4</sup> Dean Stanley contributed to Politics for the People, and the Christian Socialist. Bradley, his successor at Westminster, was also a Rugby man and a corresponding member of the Christian Socialists. Ludlow had looked to Arnold for religious nurture before he met Maurice.<sup>5</sup> While Maurice<sup>6</sup> more than any other religious thinker shaped the expression of its reforming zeal, the Christian Socialist Movement was greatly indebted to Arnold of Rugby for its inspiration.

The Movement was the first organized attempt to reform the social evils of the Industrial Revolution made in the name of Christianity. Its real founder was J.M. LUDLOW (1821-1911), who received his education and democratic ideals in Paris. He was called to the bar in London, and met Maurice at Lincoln's Inn. On April 10th, 1848, when Ludlow had recently returned from a visit to Paris and Kingsley had come to London in connection with the Chartists' petition to Parliament, Maurice brought his two young friends together. That night, the Christian Socialist Movement was born. The three issued a placard, "To the Working Men of England," signed "a Working Parson." With the assistance of other friends, they projected a weekly paper, Politics for the People.

Politics for the People failed to meet expenses and had to be discontinued after three months. But during its period

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4. see appendix IV

5. Raven, Christian Socialism 1848-54, p.65

6. see above, p.133

of publication, a loyal group of friends had been built up. The group attracted attention to the plight of the working man and the need for Christian social reform. It continued to grow in membership. THOMAS HUGHES (1822-96) was the most notable addition during the first few months. He introduced many friends, including S. Mansard, a fellow-Rugbeian who was a curate in London's East End slums. E.V. NEALE (1810-92) did not come into contact with the Christian Socialists until after the founding of the Working Tailors' Association in 1850, but he then became one of the leaders of the movement. Many University students, particularly at Cambridge, were actively interested; F.J.A. Hort<sup>7</sup> was one of them.

The movement always maintained a distinctly Christian character. Maurice, Kingsley, and a few others were ordained clergymen; Ludlow and Hughes, among the laymen, were particularly anxious to declare the Christian basis of all their projects; the others all sympathized, in varying degrees, with a close tie-up of the movement with Christianity. Maurice was always their respected leader, their "Prophet" and "Master"; Ludlow was the prime moving force in the group; Kingsley was their chief literary apologist; Neale was their main financial backer. It is significant that the group met weekly at Maurice's house for Bible reading and study, and that most of the men worshiped together at Lincoln's Inn Chapel.

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7. see above, p.137; cf. Life of Hort, pp. 94, 130ff

One major phase of the movement was literary. The Christian Socialists published Politics for the People weekly from May through July, 1848. In 1850, they put out seven Tracts on 'Christian Socialism, followed by an eighth the next year. They again undertook a weekly journal, The Christian Socialist, beginning in November, 1850.<sup>8</sup> They also published a good many pamphlets: four Tracts by Christian Socialists (1851), one of which was a reprint of Kingsley's famous "Cheap Clothes and Nasty"; lectures given at monthly meetings; various sermons and addresses; and a Report of their Society (1852). Kingsley's novels written during this period also belong to the literary phase of the movement: Alton Locke (1850), and Yeast (1851), which had appeared in serial form in Fraser's Magazine in 1848.

The Christian Socialists were not content merely to meet together and to engage in literary activity. They felt compelled to undertake some practical ventures. The first of these was a night school in Little Ormond Yard, a particularly rough neighborhood not far from Maurice's house. It was an education for teachers and classes alike, and helped pave the way for the later establishment of the Working Man's College. They also helped with relief work in the slums in the wake of an epidemic of cholera; they arranged conferences

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8. In January, 1852, it was reduced in content, and the name was changed to Journal of Association; it ceased altogether in June, 1852.

with other reformers interested in the cause of the working man, i.e., with Chartists and Owenites.

Out of these conferences, and on the pattern of the French "Associations Ouvrières", a new venture in Christian Social Reform took shape--a Working Tailors' Association was established, in 1850. It was the Christian Socialists' first experiment in co-operative production. Other Associations followed, and, despite Maurice's reluctance to organize, they decided to form a "Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations" to coordinate the activities of the Associations. The Society had a "Central Board", consisting of the manager and delegates from each Association; and a "Council of Promoters", with Maurice as president, a paid secretary, honorary treasurers, and ordinary, honorary, and corresponding members.<sup>9</sup> The Council of Promoters had final executive authority: they administered funds; they transacted business between the Society, individual Associations, and the public. Their aim was "to diffuse the principles of co-operation<sup>10</sup> as the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry."<sup>11</sup>

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9. After the Society was organized in 1850, membership in the Council of Promoters became the badge of participation in the Christian Socialist Movement.

10. The principles were further defined in the preamble to the constitution of the re-constituted Society in 1853: "desiring to state more definitely what those principles are, as (we) find them set forth in Christ's gospel,...(we) declare (1) that human society is a body consisting of many members, not a collection of warring atoms; (2) that true workmen must be fellow-workmen, not rivals; (3) that a principle of justice, not selfishness, must regulate exchanges." (Raven, op.cit., p.307)

11. Raven, op.cit., p.188



The Christian Socialists were particularly concerned with co-operative production, while the Rochdale pioneers were concentrating on co-operative distribution. The original Working Men's Associations included Tailors, Boot and Shoemakers, Builders, Printers, and Bakers. They were all in London, but they inspired similar efforts elsewhere. The Christian Socialists became more involved with the Co-operative Movement as it grew. They persuaded Parliament, in 1852, to pass an act giving legal status to "Industrial and Provident Societies." This Act enabled Co-operatives generally, and the Working Men's Associations in particular, to stand upon their own feet and depend less upon the Society and the Promoters. The Society then reconsidered its aims and functions, and changed its name to the "Association for Promoting Industrial and Provident Societies." It continued in existence for less than two years more, when its duties were passed over to the executive committee of the Annual Conference on the Co-operative Movement.<sup>12</sup>

In the meantime, none of the producers' Co-operatives that the Christian Socialists had promoted proved to be an unqualified success. Misunderstandings and petty bickerings among workers were followed by economic misfortune. The staunch devotion of Ludlow, Neale, and Hughes to the principle of co-operative production in spite of all this shows how firmly

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12. several Christian Socialists were on the committee; see below, p.163 (note)

rooted was their idealism. They never gave up their ideal, or their interest in Co-operation, but upon the demise of the Society they joined Maurice in devoting their reform energies to working men's education. They, and other individual Christian Socialists, continued to work for social reform throughout the century, but the Christian Socialist Movement, as organized through the Council of Promoters of the Society, came to an end in 1854.

In six years, the Christian Socialists had succeeded in publicizing the need of social and economic reform; they had given a considerable boost to the Co-operative Movement; they had gained the confidence of working men and of social reformers outside of the Church; they had shown churchmen that here was a new field for Christian endeavor. They acted upon principles of Christian social reform which Arnold certainly would have approved, although he might not have agreed with some of their ways of expressing those principles.

#### (b) Working Men's Education

Arnold always sympathized wholeheartedly with the cause of education for the working man, and participated in it at various times. When the Working Men's Associations failed, Maurice and his friends resolved that they, too, must undertake reform by education. One of the major reasons for the failure of the Associations sponsored by the Christian Socialists had been lack of education among workers. They frequently

misunderstood each other and the manager; they failed to grasp the ideals of co-operative production; they were not adept at self-government.

Arnold and other churchmen felt that the Church's responsibility for education extended to the poor as well as to the rich. Education had long been regarded as the function of the Church, and Arnold thought that it should always have a distinctly Christian character whether carried on by the Church or not. In his day, Sunday Schools<sup>13</sup> were teaching the working class--mostly children--how to read and write, as well as the contents of the Bible. The S.P.C.K.<sup>14</sup> was distributing "wholesome literature", which Arnold feared was "too dull". He wanted to Christianize the "Penny magazine" of the Useful Knowledge Society, or start one of his own.<sup>15</sup> He had already experimented with a poor man's paper--the Englishman's Register, founded in 1831 to speak the truth in a Christian spirit.<sup>16</sup>

Not infrequently, gentry and clergy objected to knowledge imparted through the Sunday Schools and Christian journals, on the grounds that it might lead to radicalism. Once a man learned to read, he could read Cobbett<sup>17</sup> or Paine as well as the Bible, and often did just that. Upon the foundations laid

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13. founded by Robert Raikes around 1780

14. Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded 1698

15. Life, i.282

16. see above, p.47

17. Arnold admired Cobbett's clarity of style and reforming zeal, though he disliked the radical popular democracy ("Jacobinism") of Cobbett and Paine. cf. Life, i.257

for specifically religious learning, movements to educate the workers for political and economic reasons were built.

Mechanics' Institutes first sprang up in 1823, and increased rapidly until the 1860's.<sup>18</sup> Their aim was general education for adult workers. They had to contend with some opposition from reactionary clergymen, but also found sympathetic support from other churchmen. Arnold approved of the Institutes, and one lecture he gave to the Rugby Mechanics' Institute was reprinted, and has been published in his Miscellaneous Works.<sup>19</sup> Whately and Thirlwall\* also lent their assistance. Many difficulties were in the way of Mechanics' Institutes: sometimes the middle classes attended instead of workers; sometimes the lecturers were poor or lectured over the heads of their audiences; sometimes there was not enough real interest among those who attended. But, on the whole, the Institutes did a real service in educating working men.

The Christian Socialists were notably successful in their institution to reform by education, the Working Men's College in London. They had gained the necessary background in education for working men, and were themselves qualified lecturers. So they found their new project an eminently fitting and comparatively easy task. They started with a series of popular lectures by various notables who were attracted to the scheme. In 1853, they inaugurated weekly classes in such subjects as

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18. Wagner, The Church of England and Social Reform, p.110

19. Life, i.339, ii.125

\* see below, p.170



Grammar, English History, French, Book-keeping, Singing, Drawing, Political Economy. After Maurice's dismissal from King's College, they expanded the scheme, and he became full-time principal. The College was a true expression of Christian Socialism, teaching the brotherhood of man, and educating the teachers as well as the workers. After a period of difficulties, it became firmly established by 1880. It was copied at Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Leicester, and other places. Frederic Harrison,<sup>20</sup> who once taught there himself, but differed with Maurice religiously, gave a grudging underestimate of the achievements of the College:

"The College has thriven and increased on the basis of the Christian Socialism of Maurice and the muscular Christianity of Tom Hughes, as a useful and well-conducted school of secondary education on established and moderate lines, with some Christianity, a little arm-chair Socialism, and a mild infusion of real working men."<sup>21</sup>

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Church did the lion's share of educating the workers of England. Sometimes it was a felt duty; sometimes it was purely for religious purposes; sometimes it was calculated to help workers help themselves, socially, politically, and economically. Arnold's influence in the education of working men was more in stimulating than in directing or controlling it. His influence was brought to bear partly through his own efforts and example at Rugby, and partly through the efforts of the Christian Socialists.

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20. see below, p.175

21. Wagner, op.cit., p.117

(c) Christian Public Opinion

Arnold's influence was an inconspicuous but considerable factor in securing a public opinion of the upper and middle classes favorable to reform, and eventuating in the passage of important social legislation by Parliament. While two great philanthropic reformers, Shaftesbury and Wilberforce, were at odds with Arnold because of theological differences, many bishops and parliamentarians of the Victorian age were affected by his concern for Christian social reform, and clergymen educated under his influence went out with a concern for the working men of their parishes.

Several clergymen, following Arnold, advocated mutual understanding between rich and poor, and a few, like Maurice and Kingsley, were radical reformers. Their example and preaching did much to break down the indifference of public opinion to the plight of the worker. Arnold advocated "intercourse with the poor."<sup>22</sup> Stanley took great pleasure in personally conducting groups of working men through Westminster Abbey. Robertson<sup>23</sup> had a large following among the working men of Brighton, and gave much time and effort to their Institute. D.J. Vaughan,<sup>24</sup> a Rugbeian who founded the Working Men's College in Leicester, published some of his sermons to workers as "Questions of the Day--the Christian aspect of politics." Other less

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22. see above, p.62

23. see above, p.141f

24. Brother of Charles James Vaughan, who was also one of Arnold's Rugby pupils (an intimate friend of Stanley and Lake), became headmaster of Harrow, and later Dean of Llandaff.

prominent clergymen who came under Arnold's influence devoted considerable time and thought to the working men of their parishes.

The Bishops of the Church of England, some of whom were influenced by Arnold, were in an especially favorable position to help mold and voice public opinion. They not only exercised a certain amount of supervision over dioceses, but also had seats in the House of Lords.<sup>25</sup> Men like Edward Stanley,<sup>26</sup> Thirlwall,<sup>27</sup> Samuel Wilberforce,<sup>28</sup> Tait,<sup>29</sup> Frederick Temple,<sup>30</sup> Fraser,<sup>31</sup> and Westcott<sup>32</sup> made noteworthy use of their influence to aid social reform. They were humanitarian, rather than

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25. One layman who, more than the whole bench of bishops, crystallized public opinion against inhuman working conditions in industry, was Anthony Ashley Cooper, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury. In Parliament, he sponsored legislation regulating factory hours, working conditions in mines, the employment of chimney sweeps, and the apprenticeship of children and employment of women in certain industries. The legislative investigations that Shaftesbury brought about reported conditions which shocked the complacent public then, and shock today's readers as well. He also sponsored the Lunacy Act of 1845, the Lodging House Act of 1851, and personally founded many schemes to help destitute boys and girls. He was a devout layman of the Church of England with pronounced evangelical sympathies; he felt that religion should motivate reform, and was much disturbed by lack of cooperation on the part of the Anglican clergy in his philanthropic reforms. However, he felt himself unable to cooperate in such reforms as the Christian Socialists were making, because of their Broad Church theology and their political and economic radicalism.

26. Norwich (1837), father of Dean Stanley; see note, p.139

27. St.David's (1840), see below, pp.170

28. Oxford (1845) and Winchester (1869), see below, p.179  
cf. Wagner, *op.cit.*, p.97

29. London (1855) and Canterbury (1868), see above, p.143

30. Exeter (1869), London (1885), and Canterbury (1896)  
see above, p.143

31. Manchester (1870), see below p.163,

32. Durham (1890), see above, p.137, and below p.179

radical reformers. Measures for education, temperance, housing, poor relief, factory legislation, and the like, had their support.

The Christian Socialists also did much to influence public opinion and secure legislative reform. Their literary efforts made excellent propaganda for the reform cause, and all their projects attracted much public notice. Many of them were barristers, and thus were effective parliamentary lobbyists. Tom Hughes was returned to the Commons in 1865 and 1868. The most notable contribution of the Christian Socialists to legislative reform was to secure passage of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1852.<sup>33</sup> They also helped with the Trade Union Act of 1871.

Christians have always been sensitive to the need for relief of extreme poverty and poor living conditions, but they have not always been willing to abolish the causes of poverty and poor living conditions. At the beginning of the Victorian age, not many churchmen were awake to the need for social reform, but by the 1880's most of them felt their social conscience pricked. Arnold's influence greatly helped to bring about this change of public opinion, although it cannot be said to have determined the course of Christian Social Reform, as it did the advance of Biblical Criticism.

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33. see above, p. 152



(d) Christian Settlements in the Slums

The Settlement Movement was one of the later developments in Christian social reform, removed by some thirty years of time from Arnold's personal influence. Yet many of the Christian "settlers" in the slums were "second generation Arnoldites"--i.e., students influenced by men like Stanley, Jowett, Maurice, and Kingsley, whom Arnold had influenced. Their motto might well have been Arnold's phrase, "intercourse with the poor."<sup>34</sup>

Toynbee Hall, the pioneer settlement house, was founded in 1884 by a group of Oxford undergraduates, under the inspiration of S.A. Barnett, Rector of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, East London. Barnett was chosen warden, and rooms were secured in the vicinity of St. Jude's. The aim of the settlement was to promote sympathy and understanding between social classes by bringing college men to live in the slums, to help with education and recreation for people of poorer districts, and to plan for social welfare generally.<sup>35</sup> It grew rapidly, and was copied extensively in the U.S.A. and in Europe. Of all

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34. Arnold's phrase has one serious defect as a motto: it might be taken to indicate a spirit of condescension or paternalism by churchmen toward working men. No doubt many of the early Christian reformers did have such feelings. Despite Lytton Strachey's caricature in Eminent Victorians, we have no warrant for assuming that Arnold shared such an attitude. His dislike for the excesses of the French Revolution did not make him anti-democratic and condescending. To have such an attitude would contradict the basic tenet of his theology--the outreach of Christianity through a "Christian affection" on the part of individuals, and through the comprehensive Christian society.

35. 1886 Report of Toynbee Hall, quoted by Wagner, op.cit., p.183

the efforts at Christian social reform, the Settlement Movement was the most widely recognized and supported..

Barnett began his work in East London in 1872. He was preceded by many clergymen who had taken parish work or missions in working class districts.<sup>36</sup> Unlike the others, he kept close contact with Oxford and Cambridge, and had many college men stay with him in London at different times. He stayed at Oxford with Jowett<sup>37</sup> sometimes, and sometimes <sup>he stayed</sup> with undergraduates; his visits were so frequent that he was laughingly called the "Unpaid Professor of Social Philosophy."<sup>38</sup> Just as Toynbee Hall grew out of his residence in the slums, other organizations of Christian social reform such as the Guild of St. Matthew and the Christian Social Union got their impetus from the settlement idea.

Arnold's relation to the Settlement Movement is symbolized in a name. Toynbee Hall was named after Arnold Toynbee, an Oxford economist and reformer who had spent much time with

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36. Clergymen resident in London slums around 1860 included: William Champneys, one of the oldest slum pastors; J.R. Green, later author of A Short History of the English People; J. Ll. Davies, historian of the London Working Men's College; S. Hansard, see above p.149; Alexander Mackonochie, a "Ritualist" who got into much controversy; Stewart Headlam, who founded the Guild of St. Matthew.

There were also some notable laymen: Octavia Hill, pioneer of housing reform who had been influenced by the Christian Socialists; Edward Denison, who with Ruskin and J.R. Green had projected a University settlement before Barnett; Edmund Hollond, who interested Barnett in St. Jude's.

37. Life of Barnett, p.304f; for Jowett, see above, p.140

38. Barnett, Practicable Socialism, p.113

Barnett, and had died while still a young man.<sup>39</sup> He in turn was named after Thomas Arnold, because his father admired the Rugby headmaster.<sup>40</sup> In the same way, the whole Settlement Movement was indebted to the social teaching of the Broad Churchmen,<sup>41</sup> especially of Jowett at Oxford and Maurice at Cambridge, and they in turn were indebted to Arnold.

(e) Workers' Organizations

Arnold had little knowledge of, or regard for, workers' organizations as instruments of social reform. In his day, Trade Unions, Chartists, and Owenites had assumed an tone of anti-Christian radicalism, and seemed to threaten revolution. He thought that the Friendly Societies were "half-heathen."<sup>42</sup> But a generation later, things were different. The men whom Arnold influenced, notable the Christian Socialists, were aiding workers' organizations in their programs of reform. Churchmen were won over to support Friendly Societies early in the Victorian

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39. In lecturing on Economic History, he originated the term, "Industrial Revolution."

40. Picht, Werner, Toynbee Hall, p.14

41. The Settlement Movement was by no means an exclusively Broad Church child, however. Evangelical and Ritual Church traditions were in it--and the influences of men outside of the Church, such as Carlyle, Ruskin, J.S. Mill, and Comte, were present, too.

Barnett had an evangelical background, but without the pronounced opinions of Shaftesbury. (see Wagner, op.cit. p.202f for evangelical reformers). Ritual often seemed particularly important to clergy in poorer districts, many of whom belonged to the Post-Tractarian High Church school of theology. This school also sponsored sisterhoods who did noteworthy social welfare work.

Arnold shared the laurels of inspiring the settlement phase of Christian social reform with his old enemies, the Tractarians, and with philanthropic Evangelicals who opposed change of the economic order.

42. Life, ii.230



age;<sup>43</sup> by the 1880's, Co-operatives had become quite respectable in many eyes, and some were actively supporting Trade Unions.

Co-operatives had a long struggle for recognition. They rivalled established business interests. Bishop Fraser of Manchester was advised as late as 1874 by the Grocers' Defense Association to preserve a "dignified neutrality" toward Co-operatives.<sup>44</sup> But he, like the Christian Socialists, openly supported the principles of Co-operation. As we have already seen, the Christian Socialists were more concerned with production than with distribution; they felt that establishing co-operative production was striking at the roots of the economic problem, whereas co-operative distribution was simply saving money for customers. Still, it was natural for them to work hand-in-hand with distributors' Co-operatives as well as their own Associations. It was the Christian Socialists who sponsored the first Annual Conference of the Co-operative Movement at London in July, 1852,<sup>45</sup> and thus, as well as through their

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43. The Friendly Societies were, at first, simply clubs or lodges attracting most of their members from the working and middle classes. They developed as thrift organizations to provide for the vicissitudes of life (e.g., sick benefits and funerals), and thus came to act as mutual insurance associations. They were legally recognized by Act of Parliament in 1834, 1846, and 1850. The first Registrar of Friendly Societies appointed by law was a clergyman, and Ludlow succeeded to that office after sponsoring certain needed changes in the law in 1875. Churchmen generally approved of such mutual improvement societies, except for the secret ritual in which some engaged. Country clergymen in particular often cooperated with the Friendly Societies.

44. Hughes, Bishop Fraser, p.253

45. Local conferences had been held before; after the third meeting in 1854, the Annual Conference existed only in its executive committee, on which several of the Christian Socialists served. In 1869, when the first Co-operative Congress was assembled, again there were many Christian Socialists prominent in its affairs.



publications, helped to unify the movement. Hughes and Neale, who had served on the executive committee of the Annual Conference, were asked to prepare a "Manual for Co-operators" in 1881. In it, they devoted a rather lengthy section to the Christian bases of Co-operation.<sup>46</sup>

Trade Unions had still more clerical antagonism to overcome than did other organizations of workers. In the 1830's,<sup>47</sup> English Trade Unions were allied with the Chartists in an attempt at radical social and political reform. That alone had made them disreputable in the eyes of most churchmen. Then, after bitter political disillusionment, they had come to concentrate on the fight to secure higher wages and better working conditions for the workers they represented. While they still lost strikes, they won friends, and their cause progressed. By the 1880's, the Trade Unions resembled Friendly Societies in many ways. They, too, provided a club for the workers and certain financial aid, such as health and unemployment benefits--as well as pressing the more fundamental claim for decent wages and working conditions.

The Christian Socialists supported Trade Unions from the start. They hoped to interest them in co-operative production. In fact, one of the strongest unions, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, was all set to operate an iron works in Liverpool in conjunction with the Christian Socialists, when a lock-out

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46. Some of the Co-operators objected to the section on Christianity, for they were still suspicious of the Church; their feeling was reciprocated by some churchmen.

47. Trade Unions had been illegal "combinations" until 1824.

of iron trades workers occurred in 1852.<sup>48</sup> The employers won the dispute, and forced the workers to sign a "no-union" pledge, but the A.S.E. continued to exist in spite of it.

Despite this failure, and others like it,<sup>49</sup> Trade Unionism grew and became more respectable. Even critics of the Unions had to admit the justice of many of the workers' claims for higher wages and better working conditions. So we find that in the London dock strike of 1889, a group of clergy urged Frederick Temple, then Bishop of London, to intervene to bring about a settlement. He, Cardinal Manning, and the Lord Mayor

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48. The original issues of the struggle were overtime and piecework, but the employers made it an all-out fight against unionism. The Christian Socialists, led by Ludlow, Hughes, and Neale, and the A.S.E. had to devote all their efforts to supporting the workers' side of the dispute. (Some of the Christian Socialists were luke-warm supporters because they mistrusted all forms of industrial violence).

49. In the London building trade strike of 1860 the employers were again in too strong a position. While a committee of Trade Societies and Strikes of the newly organized National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (in which Christian Socialists were active) recommended arbitration, after an inquiry into workers' grievances, the employers demanded unconditional surrender.

In 1872, Joseph Arch (who was a Primitive Methodist preacher in his spare time) formed the National Agricultural Laborer's Union. Such a Union had been suggested in 1867 by Edward Girdlestone, Canon of Bristol, who proved a friend to agricultural laborers in a parish at Halberton, N.Devon, by helping them migrate to better jobs. The employers thought this going a bit too far, and refused to hire members of the union in 1874. Bishop Fraser of Manchester leaped to the defense of the union. "Are the farmers of England going mad?" he wrote to the Times. But the employers won again, despite sympathy for the union of Fraser, Girdlestone, the Christian Socialists, city clergy in working class parishes, and even of some of the country clergy. Most country churchmen stood aloof or opposed the union, for they had an interest in the status quo. Besides, the N.A.L.U. was primarily non-conformist and pro-disestablishment. It gradually died out.

did act as conciliators, and helped bring about a settlement that met most of the dock workers demands. Temple, however, gained no love from the dockers, for when negotiations had broken down because the men were unwilling to accept a delay in the effective date of wage increases (to which their representatives had agreed), he accused the strikers of bad faith and double dealing. Westcott was a more popular bishop with strikers for his conciliation in the Durham miner's strike of 1892. He not only took the initiative in settling the strike, but helped set up permanent conciliation machinery as well.

All in all, the above noticed assistance of churchmen to Trade Unions was rather meager, compared to the hostility many of their fellows showed. Still, it is to the lasting credit of particular individuals and groups of churchmen, such as the Christian Socialists, that they helped bring about a marked change in public attitude to Trade Unions and other workers' organization between the 1830's and the 1880's.

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A similar judgment is applicable to the part played by the Church of England in the whole movement for social reform. Particular Christians were influential in changing

the attitude of the general public to the workers' plight.<sup>50</sup> Foremost among them were the Christian Socialists in mid-century, the slum "settlers" in the last quarter-century, and the ministers of working class parishes throughout the century, who were devoted to their people and their needs.

Arnold died too early to take much active part in the Christian social reforms of 1832-82. In his lifetime, he supported the Reform Bill of 1832, aided working men's education, and advocated "intercourse with the poor." After his death, others were inspired by his teaching and example to take part in social reform. His influence was felt through the Christian Socialists and the Broad Church social reformers. His was not the only influence exerted in the name of Christianity--perhaps not even the major one--but it was a notable Christian influence to educate the worker, to give him legal protection, and to defend his right to help himself.

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50. A German observer said: "The unshaken religious faith of the English nation has contributed immensely to the universal application of social ideas."

--Baernreither, p.73  
English Associations of  
Working Men



#### IV. ARNOLD'S INFLUENCE UPON BIBLICAL CRITICISM

"Read the Bible as you would any other book"

--Coleridge

The history of Biblical criticism in England from 1825 to 1890 is the story of a remarkable change of opinion on the part of an overwhelming majority of clergy and laity. In 1825, they looked upon the Bible as verbally inspired; they interpreted the Scriptures quite literally; and they regarded any tampering with such traditions as the Mosaic authorship of the pentateuch as outright heresy.<sup>51</sup> By 1890, all three of these attitudes had been undermined or completely overthrown. Even among the High Church theologians, a group of younger men attempted to "put the Catholic faith into its right relation to modern, intellectual, and moral problems" in their series of essays published in 1889 under the title of Lux Mundi. In these essays, they adopted many of the findings of current Biblical criticism, and made a restatement of their doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture accordingly.

This change of opinion was provoked by forces outside of the Church, such as the advance of science and technology, but many men within the Church helped it along. Arnold was one of the first to take the lead in evaluating the meaning of the Bible for the new era which had dawned.

While there were a few isolated precursors of critical

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51. see Storr, The Development of English Theology (1800-60) Chapter X, "Rise of Biblical Criticism in England"

Biblical scholarship in eighteenth century Britain,<sup>52</sup> its real impetus came from Germany. It may be that eventually the spirit of the age in England itself would have forced the English divines to change their attitude toward the Bible. But in fact the change was led by Arnold and a few other English churchmen who were acquainted with German thought. They were few in number, for almost no one in England between 1800 and 1825 was familiar with German thought, and as late as mid-century the very fact that a clergyman knew the German language tended to condemn him as "heterodox."

The first of four men who preceded Arnold in helping to bridge the gap between German and English attitudes to the Bible was HERBERT MARSH (1757-1839)<sup>53</sup>. He studied in Leipsic under Michaelis, and translated the latter's Introduction to the New Testament into English in four volumes, published 1793-1801. In his preface, Marsh raised the synoptic problem for English theologians for the first time. As a result, he got into a heated controversy with Bishop Randolph of Oxford. However, the controversy soon blew over, and since Marsh was an orthodox High Churchman in ecclesiastical affairs, the pamphlets he had written in defense of his translation simply gathered dust in libraries.

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52. Robert Lowth (1710-87) and Alexander Geddes (1737-1802) deserve mention. T.K. Cheyne points out that the British deists also deserve some credit for stimulating "semi-apologetic" criticism of the Bible in Germany. (Founders of Old Testament Criticism, p.2)

53. Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge (1807), Bishop of Llandaff (1816), Bishop of Peterborough (1819).

CONNOP THIRLWALL (1797-1875)<sup>54</sup> was next to translate a German critical work on the Bible. In 1825, he published Schleiermacher's Luke, with an introduction in which he brought discussion of the synoptic problem since Marsh's work up to date. J.C. Hare<sup>55</sup> was a great friend of his from schooldays, and helped in the translation. Together they also translated Niebuhr's History of Rome. Thirlwall remained on the scene long enough to see Biblical criticism gain a good foothold in England. He was undoubtedly the best scholar on the bench of bishops during his thirty-five year episcopate. He served on the Old Testament Revision Committee appointed in 1870.

Besides these translations from the German, an original English work, published in 1829, helped pave the way for Arnold and later Biblical scholars. The book was entitled, A History of the Jews, and was written by H. H. MILMAN,<sup>56</sup> (1791-1868). Its importance lay in treating Jewish history as the story of human events rather than divine intervention. Calling Abraham an "Arab Sheikh" rather startled religious people of the time,

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54. Thirlwall was a precocious child, educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was scholar and fellow of his college, and returned to it in 1827 after a career in law which left him unsatisfied. He plunged himself into college affairs, and was intimate with Hare, until he left Cambridge in 1834 because of his views on admitting dissenters to the Universities. He took a parish at Kirby Underdale in Yorkshire, where he wrote his History of Greece. In 1840, he was appointed Bishop of St. David's.

55. See above, p.131

56. Stanley called the History "the first decisive inroad of German theology into England." In 1849, Milman became Dean of St. Paul's. He and Arnold were at Oxford at the same time, but Milman was at Brazenose College.

and offended many, but clearly brought home the fact that Jewish civilization could be discussed and criticized in the same way as Roman and Greek civilizations. Criticizing Jewish civilization was a step toward criticism of the whole Bible. Arnold felt urged by Milman's work to "deliver his testimony"<sup>57</sup>

COLERIDGE's<sup>58</sup> attitude toward the Bible also prepared the way for growth of Biblical criticism. He and Arnold had substantially the same point of view as regards the Bible: it must be read and studied as any other book. Then, he held, the excellence of the Bible becomes apparent, for no other book so completely satisfied the needs and aspirations of human nature. The walls of divine infallibility and verbal inspiration built up to protect the Bible have become a hindrance to its proper understanding. "How can infallible truth be infallibly conveyed in defective and fallible expressions?"<sup>59</sup>

Coleridge, like Marsh, Thirlwall, and Milman, was familiar with German religious thought, for he had spent a year in Germany, 1798-99. All of the four played a part in the beginnings of English Biblical criticism. But Arnold, more than any of these other men deserves to be called "the pioneer":<sup>60</sup>

"Arnold was the first to show his countrymen the possibility, and to make the demand, that the Bible should be read with honest human eyes without the spectacles of orthodox dogmatic presuppositions, and that it can at the same time be revered with Christian piety and made truly productive in moral life."

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57. Life, 1.242

58. see above, p.128

59. Coleridge, Confessions (1840 ed.) (quoted by Storr, op.cit., p.194)

60. Pflüderer, Otto, Development of Theology, p.367



The last half of the above quotation is particularly worth noting; without that additional qualification, Arnold would have been no more pre-eminent than the other forerunners of Biblical criticism. Arnold added a distinctively English morality and reverence for the Bible to German critical scholarship.

Arnold introduced German critical method into Bible study as a carry-over from study of Roman and Greek history. He had learned critical history largely from Niebuhr, who in turn had learned it from Lessing and Herder. But Arnold went further than introducing German ideas; the other forerunners had done as much by their German translations and critical histories. Out of Arnold's combination of English piety with German ideas came positive suggestions for interpreting Scripture:

- (1) traditions about authorship, and parts of the Bible itself, can be criticized as unhistorical or mistaken without impeaching the truth and authority of the whole.
- (2) God's dealings with men were accommodated to the particular situations reported in the Bible, although his eternal commands carry universal obligation.
- (3) God abhors sin, yet loves the sinner--which makes his dealings with men seem contradictory from a superficial human viewpoint.
- (4) miracles in general must be admitted as historically possible, though particular miracles may be doubted.
- (5) prophecy anticipates history in both a human and a divine sense, corresponding to the meaning of its two authors, the one human and the other divine.<sup>61</sup>

Arnold's suggestions inspired the publication, in 1855, of the commentaries on Paul's epistles (Corinthians, Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans) by Stanley and Jowett. According to one competent observer, it was these volumes that "marked the

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61. See above, p. 106 f.

definite establishment in England of that school of historical criticism which has flourished ever since, and has produced such leaders as Hort, Lightfoot, and Westcott."<sup>62</sup> The commentaries included introductory material, critical Greek text, (Lachmann's), translations (Authorized Version, with certain emendations), critical notes, and dissertations on problems raised by the text. Stanley also included paraphrases of the Scripture in his volume. Jowett's dissertations were particularly noteworthy in stimulating critical study.<sup>63</sup>

Because opponents seemed to mistake his meaning, Jowett rewrote some of his dissertations for a second edition, published in 1859. He also prepared an essay on "The Interpretation of Scripture," which missed the second edition of his commentary, but found its way into the more notorious volume of Essays and Reviews published in 1860.

The aim of the volume was very much in line with what both Coleridge and Arnold had advocated:

"to illustrate the advantage derivable to the cause of religious and moral truth from a free handling, in a becoming spirit, of subjects particularly liable to suffer by repetition of conventional language, and from traditional methods of treatment."<sup>64</sup>

Its appearance brought about a major crisis in the growth of English Biblical criticism. Even Darwin's Origin of Species<sup>65</sup> passed temporarily unnoticed in the storm of theological

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62. Storr, op.cit., p.398

63. Jowett expressed his indebtedness to the German, Baur.

64. Preface to Essays and Reviews.

65. Baden Powell praised Darwin's work in his essay.

controversy aroused by Essays and Reviews.

There were seven of the essays: "The Education of the World" by Frederick Temple, "Bunsen's<sup>66</sup> Biblical Researches" by Rowland Williams, "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity" by Baden Powell, "The National Church" by H.B. Wilson, "On the Mosaic Cosmogony" by C.W. Godwin, "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England (1688-1750)" by Mark Pattison, and "The Interpretation of Scripture" by Jowett. Wilson was the chief promoter of the book; Williams' essay was the most aggressive. The one common aim of the essayists was to secure the right of free inquiry. Jowett wrote to Stanley<sup>67</sup>:

"The object is to say what we think freely within the Church of England... We do not wish to do anything rash or irritating to the public or the University, but we are determined not to submit to the abominable system of terrorism which prevents the statement of the plainest facts, and makes true theology or theological education impossible."<sup>68</sup>

It is easy to see why Essays and Reviews caused such a furor, even though today the essays seem quite innocuous. They were written at a time when the old forms of Christianity were being attacked by utilitarian philosophy and by scientific research. German scholarship had long been suspected to be heretical, and Strauss' Leben Jesu, translated by George Eliot in 1846, seemed to confirm the worst suspicions. Now six clergymen and one layman of the Church of England had come

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66. Bunsen was a close friend of Arnold's. see above, p.98,129

67. Stanley declined to contribute an essay; he felt that the proposed volume was too negative in tone.

68. Life of Jowett, 1.275

out openly on the side of what Frederic Harrison, a non-Christian positivist, called "neo-Christianity."<sup>69</sup> According to Harrison, the first essayist, Temple, regarded Jewish teaching on the same level as that of Greece and Rome; the second, Williams, followed the Germans in reducing the authority of the Bible to that of any classical literature; the third, Baden Powell, eliminated the supernatural element from Christianity; the fourth, Wilson, humanized the Scriptures, and idealized many portions because they were not really genuine; the fifth, Godwin, made the Mosaic cosmogony poetic speculation rather than actual fact; the seventh, Jowett, discredited much of the Church's doctrine as human and not established by the Bible. So saying, the positivists welcomed the essayists into the fold of followers of Comte.<sup>70</sup> There was just enough truth in this identification of Essays and Reviews with current attacks on Christianity to make orthodox churchmen cry out in alarm.

Actually, there was little or nothing in Essays and Reviews contrary to Arnold's kind of Broad Churchmanship, except perhaps their rather negative character. They called in question the traditional theories of inspiration of the Bible; they commended a progressive theology more closely linked to scientific development than to ecclesiastical tradition. They did have tendencies more radical than their authors realized. Stanley, Tait, Thirlwall, and Hort all deplored these tendencies, while sympathizing

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69. in the Westminster Review, October, 1860

70. Hunt, Religious Thought in Britain, p.208



with the essayists. When the tumult and shouting died, the essayists found that they had succeeded in establishing freedom of inquiry as a right of churchmen within the Anglican communion--but the controversy dragged on for nearly a decade.

Jowett had his troubles with the University of Oxford, which took the form of debate over the endowment of the Greek chair which he occupied. Temple almost lost the headmastership of Rugby, and violent objections were raised to his appointment and consecration as Bishop of Exeter in 1869. Williams and Wilson were prosecuted for heresy; they were the only two of the essayists serving in parishes and easily available for trial.<sup>71</sup> Stanley espoused their cause with great vigor, claiming that they said nothing more heretical than Arnold, Hare, and Thirlwall had already said, though their tone and temper might be different.<sup>72</sup> In the Court of Arches, highest ecclesiastical court, the defendants were censured for the tendency of Essays and Reviews, though not for their exact words. However, on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, highest civil court, the defendants were acquitted on the grounds that the extracted passages of their writings used as evidence were not plainly inconsistent with the Thirty-nine Articles and formularies of the Church of England. According to the current witticism, the Judicial Committee "dismissed

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71. Baden Powell had died in 1862; Godwin was a layman; Mark Pattison's essay could scarcely be found fault with on grounds of heresy.

72. Life of Tait, i.308

hell with costs."<sup>73</sup> Many churchmen were unhappy with the acquittal of Williams and Wilson, and with the demonstration of state supremacy over the Church. So, in 1864, an attempt was made to condemn Essays and Reviews in the newly revived Convocation of Canterbury. The attempt succeeded despite Thirlwall, Tait, and Stanley, but no effective action could be taken against the essayists, as Temple's subsequent accession to the see of Exeter amply demonstrated.

Before the Essays and Reviews controversy had died down, another, and remarkably similar, episode in the advance of Biblical criticism occurred. It was occasioned by the publication in 1862 of A Critical Examination of the Pentateuch, in which J.W. Colenso rejected Mosaic authorship of the pentateuch, doubted the historical existence of Moses and Joshua, pointed out the incompatibilities of certain Bible stories, and asserted the impossibility of the statistics given in Numbers. Colenso was Bishop of Natal, South Africa, and his Metropolitan, Bishop Gray of Capetown, became very alarmed at the "heretical" opinions of his Suffragan. Gray got the book condemned by Convocation in 1863, and upon his return to South Africa, took action to depose Colenso.

The ensuing battle was very complex and long drawn out. Colenso's position in the Church was quite different from that of any of the essayists; he was a bishop, who now felt that he must part company with the ordination vow to "unfeignedly

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73. White, A.D., History of the Warfare of Science with Theology, ii.348 (quoting the Life of Lord Westbury).

believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments." He was sole author of the "heretical" book, and his book was more outspoken in its denial of Biblical inspiration than Essays and Reviews.<sup>74</sup> Not only were Colenso's theological views in question, but also his prerogatives as a bishop; and the thorny problem of the relations of the Church of England and of the Crown to colonial bishops was involved as well. The Privy Council decided, in 1865, on legal rather than doctrinal grounds, that Colenso was still entitled to hold his diocese despite deposition by Bishop Gray. Thereupon Gray and his synod excommunicated Colenso (1866) and consecrated a successor (1869). Not until after Colenso's death in 1883 was the situation resolved.

Majority clerical opinion in the 1860's condemned the "heretical" tendencies of both Essays and Reviews and Critical Examination of the Pentateuch, but no effective legal action could be taken against the authors. Legal protection for free inquiry within the Church of England was assured, so long as no specific contravention of Anglican formularies was involved. It took the crusading belligerence of Williams, Wilson, and Colenso as well as the more cautious liberalism of Thirlwall, Stanley, and Tait--all following Arnold's example--to arouse the English clergy to critical problems. The majority of them, with Pusey, Wilberforce, and Gray as their spokesmen, could not change their

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74. "The Bible is not God's Word," said Colenso, "but assuredly 'God's Word' will be heard in the Bible by all who will devoutly listen for it." (Cornish, History of English Church, ii.247)

opinions overnight; but fifty years after Arnold first laid down the lines of English Biblical criticism, his principles were generally accepted.

After 1870, theological controversy shifted its center of attention to "Ritualism", and left Biblical criticism to develop naturally. This gave a moderate school of Biblical scholars under the leadership of Westcott, Hort, and Lightfoot, opportunity to consolidate gains. They were moderate in temper, though thoroughly critical in method. Among their number, Westcott had felt it important to answer Essays and Reviews. He contemplated issuing, with Hort and Lightfoot, a volume which would maintain more reverence for traditional Anglicanism, while still holding the right to examine Biblical documents in the light of the best contemporary scholarship. But as the controversy grew more involved, they found it impossible to carry out the proposal without taking sides and adding fuel to the flames.

Another reason for quiet growth of Biblical criticism in this later period was the greater concern shown for the text itself than for interpretation of it. Convocation<sup>75</sup> set up Revision Committees to improve the 1611 translation of the English Bible, upon the resolution of Bishop Wilberforce, who had led the opposition to Essays and Reviews and to Colenso. The work progressed steadily, and results were published in

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75. Convocation was revived in 1852, largely through the efforts of Wilberforce. It had been inactive since 1717.



1881 and 1885. The Revisers included Scottish Presbyterians and English Free Church scholars,<sup>76</sup> and they corresponded with a committee of American revisers.

After twenty years of quiet growth, textual and literary criticism of the Bible had gained a clear field in England by 1890. Volume after volume by later critics, such as Driver, Cheyne, Sanday, Hatch, and W. Robertson Smith, rolled off the presses. These men built upon the foundations laid by the earlier English scholars,<sup>77</sup> and utilized the latest advances of German scholarship. The right of free inquiry within the Church of England had been established, and the leaven of the "scientific mind" had done its work.

In summary, Arnold's influence on Biblical criticism in England was considerable; it helped determine the line which later critics followed. (1) Arnold advocated study of the

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76. One of the company, Dr. Vance Smith, was a Unitarian. Clerical eyebrows were arched quizzically at the news that Stanley had invited the entire company of Revisers to a preparatory service in Westminster Abbey, where non-conformists had taken Communion. A none-too-polite discussion of Dr. Smith's receiving Communion very nearly wrecked the harmony of the Revisers, and was throttled only by Bishop Thirlwall's threat of resignation.

77. In addition to those we have already noticed, there were two other men whose books deserve mention. Ecce Homo, by Seeley, published anonymously in 1865, aided the advance of Biblical criticism by calling attention to Jesus as a human personality. SAMUEL DAVIDSON, a Congregationalist, similarly helped matters along with his Introductions, to the Old Testament (1862), and the New Testament (1868--in which he reversed the position of his 1848 edition). He was expelled from his professorship at Lancaster Independent College in Manchester, as a result.

Bible as of other books. (2) He helped open the channels of theological communication from Germany to England. (3) He projected modern critical commentaries on the Bible. (4) He combined, in his own person, piety with sound scholarship. (5) He laid down principles of Scripture interpretation. (6) He inspired others to study the Bible critically.

Arnold's influence, relayed through Jowett, Temple, and Bunsen, aroused England to the problem of the inspiration and interpretation of Scripture in Essays and Reviews (1860). His influence, speaking through Stanley and Tait, defended the right of the essayists, <sup>and Colenso</sup> to prosecute their researches. Through Westcott and Hort, it helped consolidate earlier gains, and led on to the work of later Biblical scholars in England.

#### V. ARNOLD'S INFLUENCE UPON THE VICTORIAN "ENGLISH GENTLEMAN"

"The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton."

--Wellington

English Public Schools in Arnold's day were the places where "English gentlemen" were made. Of course, the roots of the idea of an "English gentleman" lie deep in English history. But in the Victorian era, the idea so took hold of the imagination of the middle, as well as the upper, classes, that it has come to be used with particular reference to that period of history. Without attempting to prove or disprove the influence of other men and other forces, let us look at Arnold's part in

shaping and popularizing the idea. Our contention is that Arnold gave the idea a moral rather than a class content, so that every mother whose son was privileged to gain an education wanted him to become an "English gentleman" and a Christian.

It is universally agreed that Arnold revolutionized education at Rugby, and at English Public Schools generally.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, Arnold's reputation as an educator is his chief claim to fame.<sup>79</sup> We are not here concerned with his educational methods or reforms, but with his guiding principle--to make Christian gentlemen out of the Rugby boys. Few scenes were more characteristic of him, said Stanley, than on one occasion when he stood before the School, after having sent away several boys because of some disturbance, and said:

"It is not necessary that this should be a school of five hundred, or one hundred, or fifty boys; but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen."<sup>80</sup>

Insofar as he succeeded in making Rugby a Christian school--and his success was notable though not complete--Arnold did it by infusing Christianity into all the school's activities. He did not think that religion could be taught in isolation from other fields of instruction. He taught History and Classics

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78. Butler, who thought Arnold's reforming influence highly over-rated, is the exception that proves the rule. Life of Samuel Butler, i.9; cf. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p.241

79. He won his reputation by making use of customs, practices, and ideas already advocated or in use in Public Schools---but in new combinations and with new power. The prefect system, for example, in Arnold's Rugby became a link between boys and masters, instead of an independent system of boy government. See Life, i. Chap.III; cf. Mack, op.cit., pp236,261

80. Life, i.112

so as to bring out any religious implications; he did not attempt to teach doctrine. Indeed, he felt that religion cannot really be taught at all, but must be caught.<sup>81</sup> His job as headmaster and pastor was to prepare the boys to receive Christianity, and he did it by insistence upon the performance of moral duties. He demanded diligence in studies; honesty, fair play, and courage to stand for the right in school life outside of the classroom. He himself personified "the Law, our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ."

But Arnold's morality would never have fired the Rugby boys with moral earnestness had it simply been a matter of laying down regulations. He also inspired them with the contagion of his own religious convictions. He trusted them, the Sixth Form boys in particular, to carry on in that inspiration. It was his prophetic zeal and the power of his own personality that revolutionized Rugby.

Parents liked what Arnold was doing, even though they were sometimes suspicious of his political liberalism. Other schools followed suit, partly on their own initiative, partly following the successful example of Rugby, and partly because many of Arnold's pupils and assistants took positions in them.<sup>82</sup>

"If Rugby did not affect so much the older foundations like Eton and Westminster, it was certainly the mother of many younger institutions which have become almost as large and important as their parent. At Marlborough Clifton, Haileybury, and many other schools, the influence

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81. cf. Kinlock, Pioneers of Religious Education, Chapter X

82. Mack, op.cit., p.334



"of Arnold at second hand might be distinctly traced. And it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of that influence. It was, as it were, purifying the life of the nation at its sources."<sup>83</sup>

As a result of Arnold's work at Rugby, a few gifted pupils, like Stanley, Vaughan, Lake, Clough, and Matthew Arnold, caught his zest for learning and his deeply religious moral earnestness. The bulk of Public School students, the "Tom Brown's" of Rugby and other schools as well, gained from him a heightened sense of loyalty to moral duty. Arnold's work led to a higher and more moral concept of the end of English Public School education. It meant that the "English gentleman" henceforth must not only keep up traditions, but must also serve the principles of a Christian morality. This was particularly important in the Victorian era, for as the middle classes were pushed to the fore by rising industrialism, the old aristocratic, landed gentry lost their national importance. Arnold's "Christian gentleman" suited the educational tastes of the somewhat more democratic Victorians.

MATTHEW ARNOLD (1822-88), the even more illustrious son of an illustrious father, continued to give the ideal "English gentleman" a moral tone. His educational aims, however, were different from those of his father. He wanted to instill "sweetness and light" into the educational process--particularly for the middle class "Philistines", but also for the aristocratic

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83. Overton, The English Church in the 19th Century, p.231

"Barbarians" and the working class "Populace." But even in Matthew Arnold's Hellenic "sweet reasonableness" there remains embedded his father's Hebraic morality. He valued the Bible as source book of both culture and conduct; he despised dogma drawn from it. He wanted Biblical literature taught in the schools.<sup>84</sup> To him, religion was "morality touched with emotion; and "conduct,... three-farths of life."<sup>85</sup>

Matthew Arnold's own personality was a composite of many elements. Mrs. Humphry Ward, his niece, says:

"Nothing indeed at first sight could have been less romantic or dreamy than his outer aspect... He stood four-square--a courteous, competent man of affairs, an admirable inspector of schools, a delightful companion, a guest whom everybody wanted, and no one could bind for long... Yet his poems show what was the real inner life and genius of the man; how rich in that very 'emotion', 'love of beauty and charm', 'rebellion against fact', 'spirituality', 'melancholy', which he himself catalogued as the cradle gifts of the Celt. Crossed, indeed, always with the Rugby earnestness, with that in him which came to him from his father."<sup>86</sup>

He embodied in his personality one type of the rather precarious Victorian compromise between science, religion, and commerce---  
 "...wandering between two worlds, one dead,  
 the other powerless to be born..."

There were several other writers in the field of English literature who, like Thomas Arnold's son, gave the "English gentleman" a moral character, and were influenced in so doing

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84. While his fame rests upon his poetry and literary criticism, Matthew Arnold's official position during active life was H.M. Inspector of Schools.

85. M. Arnold, Literature and Dogma, pp.18,21,381 and passim.

86. cf. also Rugby Chapel, closing "On to the city of God!"

86. Courtney, Freethinkers of 19th Century, p.74f

by Arnold of Rugby. One, of course, was Stanley, whose biography of Arnold gave to the world an inspiring portrait of moral character. Another was Charles Kingsley, whose novels we have already noticed in our discussion of Christian social reform.<sup>87</sup> ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH (1819-61) was another; he was a poet and close friend of Matthew Arnold. He was one of Thomas Arnold's favorite pupils,<sup>88</sup> and showed great promise. His failing health and early death prevented any lengthy poetic work on his part.

Despite the religious doubts that beset him after leaving Rugby, Clough was sure of the importance of the moral struggle. It would be typical of him to paraphrase Tennyson's lines to read: "'Tis better to have fought and lost  
Than never to have fought at all". He was actively interested in Florence Nightingale's fight for better Army medical service. Perhaps his most famous lines are:

"Say not, the struggle nought availeth,  
The labor and the wounds are vain,  
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,  
And as things have been they remain....

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main,

And not by eastern windows only,  
When daylight comes, comes in the light,  
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,  
But westward, look, the land is bright."

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87. see above, p.135f

88. Clough's loss of faith under the strain of Oxford theological fervor shows the danger of over-stimulating the moral faculty of a sensitive boy--to which Arnold was blind.

Tom Brown's Schooldays\* made the largest popular contribution to the idea of an "English gentleman" of all the Rugby-inspired literature. Hughes' ideal was not so lofty as that of either of the Arnolds or of Stanley or Clough. Tom Brown's Christianity was certainly not very intellectual; the morality upon which it was based was largely confined to ideas of fair play, and doing one's duty. But this rather lower version of the "Christian gentleman" was probably the true expression of what most "old boys" actually thought and felt, even after Arnold's reform of Public School life. And the general, unquestioning acceptance of even the lowered concept of a "Christian gentleman" is a considerable tribute to the influence of Arnold of Rugby.

Many young "Tom Brown's" from Rugby and from other schools went into government services.<sup>89</sup> It is interesting to speculate--and difficult to do more than speculate--about the extent to which their concept of an English gentleman's Christian duty helped shape the course of Empire.<sup>90</sup> E.C. Mack ventures the opinion<sup>91</sup> that school traditions contributed a "paternalism" to British Imperialism, and a habit of mass-thinking that undervalued individualism, spontaneity, and genius. Her Majesty's officials knew what was best for the natives and governed accordingly--just as Arnold knew the

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89. One of Arnold's pupils who distinguished himself in Indian service was Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E. He wrote at length of his "Oriental Experiences." W.S.R. Hodson of "Hodson's Horse" was another.

90. Arnold was greatly interested in and had occasional thoughts of emigrating to help lay Christian foundations for them. (Life i.235, ii.52, 139)

91. Mack, op cit., p.278f

\* first published in 1857



the Moral Law, the schoolmaster to guide unto Christ.

Such an opinion assumes that the British officials conceived of their work in terms of loyalty to moral duty, and that the English Public Schools shaped that concept. If the opinion is warranted--and there is considerable justification for it--we might well paraphrase Wellington's famous saying about Eton's part in winning the battle of Waterloo to read: "The foundations of Empire were laid in the Chapel of Rugby School."

At any rate, Arnold and Rugby strengthened the moral sentiments, so characteristic of the Victorians. In Rugby-inspired literature as well as in education modelled after the Rugby pattern we find a moral idea of the "English gentleman." Arnold's preaching of life's moral struggle was heard far beyond the walls of Rugby Chapel.

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#### Concluding Remark:

We have seen that Arnold's influence extended widely in the realm of Victorian religion and morals. It was so pervasive that at times Arnold became more of a myth than a historical figure. In fact, at Stanley's death, the Church Times spoke of the romantic "biography<sup>92</sup> wherein and whereby

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92. Tuckwell, in Pre-Tractarian Oxford (p.95) called Stanley's Life of Arnold "one of seven great English biographies". His other six: Boswell's Johnson, Lockhart's Scott, Southey's Nelson, Lewes' Goethe, Carlyle's Sterling, Trevelyan's Macauley.

he created the Arnold myth."<sup>93</sup> Rugby traditions, and Tom Brown's Schooldays also did much to make Arnold an almost legendary character.

But it would be flying in the face of fact to assume that Stanley or Hughes had largely created the myth out of their own fancy, or had elevated an ordinary pastor-schoolmaster into an influential and eminent Victorian. Arnold became influential because of what he was. Behind all the legend that has gathered round his name stands an unusually capable pastor and schoolmaster, buoyant, handsome, and intense--whose earnest Christian morality changed the tone of Public School education in England, whose affectionate loyalty won friends and devoted followers, whose clear-sighted apprehension of wrong was always followed by vigorous effort to right it, whose questing intellect was not satisfied with merely traditional authority, whose thought and action were remarkably well integrated in a life of practical Christian devotion and service.

While his religious thought explains the directions in which Arnold influenced the Victorians, only the total impact of his personality upon an age that was ripe to receive it can account for the power of his influence.

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93. Oliver, A.P. Stanley, p.140

## APPENDIX

## I

(Description of a visit to Fox How in June, 1839)

"The grand character, the impressive, commanding nature of Dr. Arnold was then well taken in, fully estimated, and honored to the full extent of its rights and claims... Could but the manifold interest of the conversation of Dr. Arnold, the cheerfulness of the social meal-times, the animation of the exploring walks, the variety of information communicated by the mind which never slumbered, and never seemed weary--the grasp of intellect for which no subject was too great or too insignificant, as long as the prime interests of humanity were affected by it--the ardent longing after yet more knowledge, yet more capaciousness of spiritual comprehension--could all this and more have been described and commemorated, as the hand of Bunsen alone could have described the man whom he admired and honored!"

--Memoir of Baron Bunsen, i. 536

## II

(From a review of the Life of Arnold)

"He possessed the art, which is perhaps not very uncommon, of winning in a peculiar manner the affections of boys, and directing their energies to whatever object he might himself hold out; but, what is more rare, he made it the one great business of his life to give those affections and energies a religious direction. Distinguished as a schoolmaster in many respects, it was in this one that he was unrivalled. The mainspring of his success was his own deep affection for those placed under his care, which makes itself evident in every page of his sermons....."

--Edinburgh Review, v.76, p.359.

## III

(From a letter to Mrs. Arnold)

"As long as I live I shall not forget Rugby, nor the great soul who still seems to live here, and from whose memory I have learned so much."

--Frederick Temple  
Life, i. 236

## IV

(a pupil's recollection)

"I am not conscious, indeed I do not believe, that Arnold's influence was ever brought to bear directly on English politics, in the case even of those boys who (like my brother and myself) came specially under it, in his own house, and in the sixth form. What he did for us was, to make us think on the politics of Israel, and Rome, and Greece, leaving us free to apply the lessons he taught us in these, as best we could, to our own country...

"The noble side of democracy was carrying me away. I was haunted by Arnold's famous sentence, 'If there is one truth short of the highest for which I would gladly die, it is democracy without Jacobinism'.....

"Again, though Arnold's life influenced him (my brother) quite as powerfully as it did me, it was in quite a different direction, strengthening specially in him the reverence for national life, and for the laws, traditions, and customs with which it is interwoven, and of which it is the expression. Somehow, his natural dislike to change, and preference for the old ways, seemed to gain as much strength and nourishment from the teaching and example of our old master, as the desire and hope for radical reforms did in me."

--Thomas Hughes  
Memoir of a Brother, p.89f.

## V

(letter from one pupil to another)

"Arnold at Rugby was my idol and oracle, both in one. Afterward, well--he was not exactly my oracle, but I revered him wholly to the end--I have never felt such reverence for anyone since.... No gift can be more valuable than the recollection and the inspiration of a great character working in our own."

--C.J. Vaughan to A.P. Stanley  
Life of Stanley, p. 142.

## VI

(description of students at Oxford)

"...there were the Rugby men, full of enthusiasm for Dr. Arnold, in whose unpopularity they gladly shared. They knew more of history than the rest, and were eager to break a lance in theological controversy."

--Benjamin Jowett  
Life, i. 51.



## VII

(From a lecture on Wordsworth)

"It was my lot, during a short university career, to witness a transition and a reaction, or revolution of public feeling with respect to two great men...

"The first of these was one who was every inch a man-- Arnold, of Rugby. You will all recollect how in his earlier life, Arnold was covered with suspicion and obloquy, how the wise men of that day charged him with latitudinarianism, and I know not how many other heresies. But the public opinion altered, and he came to Oxford, and read lectures on modern history.

"Such a scene had not been seen in Oxford before. The lecture-room was too small; all adjourned to the Oxford Theatre; and all that was most brilliant, all that was most wise, and most distinguished, gathered together there. He walked up to the rostrum with a quiet step and manly dignity. Those who had loved him when all the world despised him felt that, at last, the hour of their triumph had come. But there was something deeper than any personal triumph they could enjoy; and those who saw him then will not soon forget the lesson read to them by his calm, dignified, simple step-- a lesson teaching them the utter worthlessness of unpopularity or of popularity as a test of manhood's worth."

--F. W. Robertson  
Life, p.23.

## VIII

(From a letter of R. W. Church to Frederic Rogers, February, 1842, after the inaugural lecture on modern history given by Arnold)

"Everything he does, he does with life and force; and I cannot help liking his manly and open way, and the great reality which he throws about such things as descriptions of country, military laws and operations, and such-like low concerns. He has exercised, on the whole, a generous forbearance towards us (Tractarians)... while he has been immensely liberal in some other ways...."

--Life of R.W. Church, p.35.

## IX

(From a letter describing Arnold)

"He has a very remarkable countenance, something in forehead, and again in manner, which puts me in mind of Reginald Heber, and there is a mixture of zeal, energy, and determination, both in manner and in everything he says."

--Mrs. Edward Stanley  
A.P. Stanley, p.71.

## X

(From a letter of Augustus Hare to Mrs. Edward Stanley)

"Are you aware that the person of all others fitted to get on with the boys is just elected master of Rugby? His name is Arnold. He is a Wykehamist and Fellow of Oriel, and a particular friend of mine--a man calculated above all others to engraft modern scholarship and modern improvements on the old-fashioned stem of a public education. Winchester, under him, would be the best school in Europe; what Rugby may turn out I cannot say, for I know not the materials he has there to work on."

--quoted in  
A.P. Stanley, p.51.

## XI

"Arnold made me really see the dignity and glory of politics, though a certain undefined feeling of Liberalism was, I think, nearly all the positive political creed that I derived originally from him."

--F.J.A. Hort  
Life and Letters, p.132.

## XII

"A passing traveler, shortly after his death, was struck with the unfeigned regret expressed by the men at the railway station for the loss of his visits to them--- and at Harrow, where he once spent a Sunday with Dr. Longley, there were found amongst the few papers of a poor servant-maid, who died some time afterwards, notes of a sermon which he preached there in the parish church, and to which she was known to have recurred frequently afterwards."

--A.P. Stanley  
Life of Arnold, i.213.

## XIII

"I have just finished reading Dr. Arnold's life, and do trust that the very vivid feelings of delight into which I have contemplated his character may produce some lasting fruit in the reformation of my own idle and desultory life. Though I differ widely from him on many important points, yet I intensely admire his earnestness of character and real devotion to one object..."

--Dean Alford  
Life, p. 141.

## XIV

(Diary of Archbishop Benson, July 15th, 1896)

"I went to the so-called Baptistery in Westminster Abbey, meeting some of the old Arnold men, Seton-Karr, Lake, and others, besides the Drummonds, Tom Arnold, and his daughter, Mrs. Humphry Ward, to dedicate in its place Gilbert's bust of Arnold. It represents him, I think, just after closing a sermon in a moment of reposeful spirit. But they all agree that such occasions were very rare. It was generally said, 'Not fierce enough.' No one ever ceased to be afraid of him. The Dean, a little white figure in his robes and skull cap over his sharp refined features, after reading Collect for All Saints and one or two other prayers, made a sweet good little address, a great contrast to the burly statue of his master which we stood round, about 30 persons with Mat. Arnold, Kingsley, and Maurice looking at him over our heads, Keble and Wordsworth beside him, and Stanley invisible but smiling near. I can't express how much I owed Arnold, religiously and historically. It was my aim to imbibe his very spirit; I assimilated much, but I spiritually fed on other things besides. His never dying glory is to have utterly reformed the Public Schools."

--Life of E.W. Benson, ii. 72lf.

\*Bradley, also a Rugby pupil

## XV

(A recent episode)

"...when my old battalion was stationed .. in Norfolk, I one day visited the local rector, who was also the squire... As the evening wore on, I kept glancing at his father's portrait. There was something about it that was strangely familiar... Suddenly I remembered.. that I'd seen it in a book at home... And then I said to him, 'How very like Dr. Arnold of Rugby your father looked, sir,' and the old rector looked up and smiled. 'How very pleased my father would have been to hear you say that,' he said, 'because he was in Dr. Arnold's Sixth Form at Rugby, and he loved his headmaster, and always tried to model his life on him.' And then I remembered how it was said of Dr. Arnold that the boys in the Sixth Form at Rugby in his day were ever stamped in the image of their great headmaster."

--R.S.V. Wright  
Small Talks, London:  
 Longmans, Green, 1945.



## XVI

(Bunsen's poetic tribute)

Du hast mit uns gekämpft des Glaubens heil'gen Kampf,  
 Für alle tief empfunden der bittren Leiden Krampf:  
 Du sahst der Menschheit nahen Gericht und blut'gen Streit,  
 Klar stand vor deinem Auge der Jammer dieser Zeit.

Da traf dich jenes Sehnen, das stillt der Erden Schmerz,  
~~Es~~ löste sich in Liebe das milde Streiterherz,  
 Begrüßtest, Held, als Boten, gesandt vom Vaterland  
 Den Engel, der dich führte ins ew'ge heimathland.

Verstummt ist nun am Grabe des Zorns und Hasses Wuth,  
 Ein Leuchthurmragst du strahlend aus nächt'ger Sturmes Fluth,  
 Es sprosset heil'ger Samen in mancher jungen Brust,  
 Ein Volk voll edlen Stolzes blickt auf zu dir mit Lust.

Du selbst bist weggerückt aus der Verwirrung Noth,  
 Das schwerste Seelenleiden hat dir erspart der Tod:  
 Es liegt vor dir enthüllet das Räthsel dieser Welt,  
 Schaust nun, was du geglaubet, von Gottes Licht erhellt.

Wir aber wollen kämpfen, wie du es vorgethan,  
 In hoffnung und in Liebe, mit Glauben angethan,  
 Die Ewigkeit vor Augen, Wahrhaftigkeit im Sinn,  
 Und geben für die Wahrheit das Leben willig hin!

## I

The fight of faith undaunted  
 Thou to the end hast fought,  
 Whilst foretaste harsh of evil  
 Thine own experience brought;  
 Thou saw'st the doom impending  
 That might not pass away  
 Hast mark'd the sun rise lurid  
 Before the carnage day.

## II

Then grew on thee the longing  
 That lays the storm of life,  
 In love, in pious trusting,  
 Thy heart reposed from strife;  
 How gladly then, our champion,  
 Didst thou the angel greet,  
 Sent, to thy home to guide thee,  
 Thine habitation meet!

## V

And we would still be waging  
 The warfare thou hast waged,  
 With hope and love and fealty  
 On Virtue's part engaged:

## III

And now, the surging tumult  
 Is still'd beside thy grave,  
 Whilst thou, a brilliant beacon  
 Yet tow'rest o'er the wave:  
 From seeds in youthful bosoms,  
 By thee profusely sown,  
 The germs of holy purpose  
 And noble deed have grown.

## IV

Apart from earth's wild turmoil  
 Thou calmly tak'st thy rest,  
 The worst of sorrows spared thee,  
 Vouchsafed of joys the best;  
 The mystery of the ages  
 Unveiled to thy sight  
 Each sequence clear before thee  
 In God's unchanging light.

Eternity before us  
 Eternal truth our end--  
 For this, our life's brief moment  
 How freely would we spend!

--from Memoir of Baron Bunsen



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